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Edited by

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

EXPLORATIONS IN HITTITE ASIA MINOR—1929

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EXPLORATIONS IN HITTITE ASIA MINOR

1929

By
HANS HENNING VON DER OSTEN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
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I

INTRODUCTION

The experiences and results of our fourth year of research work in Asia Minor were in many respects different from those of the earlier years. This year I was able to devote my entire time to exploration, since I was no longer responsible for the excavation of the Alishar *hüyük*, which remained our headquarters. This year also afforded me greater opportunities to familiarize myself with the attitude of the Anatolian both toward the West in general and toward scientific research into his past culture in particular. It was, however, my first encounter with serious difficulties arising out of climatic conditions and special circumstances on a large scale. In the narration of these events it may seem that the personal element, not always obviously relevant to exploration, has been stressed; but the objective in so doing is merely to convey to the reader a little clearer conception of the many obstacles which confront the traveler on such a quest. On many evenings in the field, after the more technical work had been done, and especially at Elbistan, where for nearly two weeks I was unable to do much archaeological research, I made some notes on the more human aspects of history as they presented themselves in our research work. These remarks may be considered supplemental to the introductory material in the preliminary reports of 1926 (historical and geographical)[1] and 1927–28 (technical).[2]

All research experiences have a relative scientific value, but a definite human one. Unfortunately, up to the present, science has not sufficiently respected this human side. Consequently the Oriental Institute, under the leadership of Dr. Breasted, is blazing a new trail in its endeavor to place historical science on a sound human basis, prepared to weather the most severe criticism. The Institute is not providing finished history, synthesized and predigested, by the can, nor merely academic facts for the exclusive consumption of other scholars.

[1] "Oriental Institute Communications" (hereafter abbreviated to *OIC*), No. 2.

[2] *OIC*, No. 6.

Its aim is to make history a potent factor in daily experience, to prove to the general public that history deals fundamentally not with musty dates but with full-fledged life, whether it be employed as an aid in the development of specific cultural and political facts or for civilization as a whole. In any event, the material needed for the further use of scholarly interpretation is being carefully collected and recorded.

The "Communications" reporting on the various projects of the Institute—"preliminary bulletins for general readers"—are, for the men in the field, a medium for expressing their personal reactions while in the physical setting of an ancient culture, before time and meticulous preparation of the technical material in dusty libraries have destroyed these fresh impressions, reducing them to dead dates and numbers. I recall a note by a famous explorer to the effect that a sojourn of a few hours in the shadows of the temple colonnade at Luxor, or at sunset in Athens, or on the deserted streets of Pompeii, would convey to one more of the spirit of those past cultures, together with an understanding of their influence on our own time, than a year's reading of the most illustrious scholars on the subject. Apropos of this, I might add that an eminent scholar, traveling for the first time in a Near Eastern country on whose history he had been considered an authority for many years, confessed to me that before he had come to the land itself his conception of its physical aspects and conditions had been vastly different.

Furthermore, the reports of the Oriental Institute are not offered as a justification of its work—true scientific work needs no justification—nor in an appeal for sympathy or material help. They are purely the media through which we hope to secure co-operation toward the goal for which we are striving—the understanding of our own cultural and historical problems. Every man, whether scholar or general reader, can aid us—the scholar with valuable technical material or with the conclusions evolving therefrom, the professional man with experience acquired in his own field, the general reader with penetrating common sense. It is an old joke, but nevertheless true, that notably the scholar, able to explain the most intricate problems of life or thought logically and theoretically, is at a loss when called upon to solve the simple questions of daily life.

May I cite here just one example of the actual importance for our

work of a long "dead" historical incident. The motive of Pope Urban II when he called the First Crusade was wholly spiritual; but almost immediately it became grossly materialized by political leaders, who discovered therein an excellent chance to rid themselves of the restless feudal lords and other undesirable elements of the time and perhaps to attain in the East greater personal prestige and power. Only the First Crusade achieved genuine success, and this was largely due to its outstanding leader; but too soon after the arrival of the knights in Jerusalem the altruistic movement disintegrated into many particularistic and egoistic enterprises—"*chaqu'un pour soi, Dieu pour nous tous.*" Then the slowly but steadily moving Orient, marking time until this auspicious situation arose, dealt with it accordingly!

Dr. Breasted has launched a new crusade;[1] but, like the old one, it runs the risks of misinterpretation and of egoistic, individualistic tendencies. All of the worth-while and significant work done by other universities, councils, institutes, and individuals has been and will be rendered due consideration and acknowledgment. But under the auspices of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, I think I am safe in saying, there has been undertaken for the first time serious study extending uniformly over all the fields connected with the cultural and political history of the ancient Near East. The general field of the Near East furnishes irrefutable proof of the absolute necessity for co-operation of all of the special branches. This fact has, with few exceptions, been neglected or overlooked; otherwise, we should now be much farther advanced. There are countless examples of specialists who have deliberately destroyed material which did not fall within their field, in order that access to their own might be facilitated; and there are many who have passed great monuments without even recording them, deeming them "unimportant." These scientists certainly have not considered their particular field as a small part of a great building. Yet every earnest scholar knows there is no such thing as "unimportant"; there is only material more or less important in relation to one's own special work.

The oriental mentality is, undoubtedly, still very much the same as it was at the inception of our historical knowledge of it. If we analyze our own thoughts quite definitely, we shall be inclined to concede

[1] *American Historical Review*, XXXIV (1929), 215–36.

that this is not extraordinary; for we shall extract from this analysis the discovery that we ourselves have remained unchanged in the roots of our psychical life. I am, of course, not referring to our material outlook, our civilized standards. The fundamentally different manner of the East in looking upon life has always been to us an intriguing mystery. But all understanding or apparent equalization, as far as individuals of the East and West are concerned, has proved to be a mirage. As far as larger human units, peoples and nations, are concerned, they were and still are bound to clash until a spiritual bridge is found to span the abyss which separates them.

The Japanese are modernized and stand on the same basis in material culture as most of the Western nations; likewise the Turks are now trying to adapt themselves to Western standards. Can they really accept our ingrained way of thinking, our civilization for which we have fought and suffered over many centuries, and which they take on within a few decades? They cannot. For the same reason, we cannot by objective analysis alone truly comprehend their philosophies or their religions. Many centuries ago a great principle, known as Christianity, was born. Wholly spiritual in essence, this principle has proven itself, down through the ages, to be the only possible bridge over this gulf of misunderstanding and suspicion. It traces its origin to the East, but its development to the West. It teaches the only means of truly understanding our "different" neighbors: we must love them—accept them as they are, and not judge them according to our personal standards.

We harshly decide that an Oriental is lazy because he does not work regularly as we do, because he does not strive for personal comfort, and because he is passively opposed to modernization. But we forget the climatic conditions, the political circumstances under which his mentality was molded, and that he is willing, in his fashion, to work as hard as we if he considers it necessary. We laugh when an Anatolian, besieged by vermin and clothed in rags, voices the opinion that we are unclean because we wash in water "not moving," i.e., in bowls or basins. No Anatolian would wash in anything but running water—at a spring, in a river, or by pouring the water from a pitcher on to his hands.

There are thousands of examples, large and small, in spiritual and

material culture and in past and present history, which reveal to the sincere man the sharp division between oriental and occidental ways of thinking and feeling. Only the most impartial striving for understanding on both sides can help progress toward mutual assimilation.

We cannot yet attempt, even approximately, to define the point of view of the East toward us, our feelings, and our actions. For is not exact definition of our own point of view difficult? Introspection should clarify our own position in the life of the world. ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ, "know thyself," should be the keynote.

An outstanding characteristic of our race has ever been a thirst for adventure—for the unknown and mysterious. True, this spirit has too often been diverted into material channels; but notwithstanding that fact, its roots can be found buried deep in a yearning for mystical beauty. The cold climate and the unyielding soil of the North caused our forefathers to dream of sunny lands where crops would grow unaided and wealth would exist for the taking. The Mediterranean, once contact was made with it, acted like a magnet. Possibly the emotion was that of a child long separated from, and now rediscovering, its parental home. Latent reminiscences of his earlier life often occupy the mind of a child, frequently taking the form of entrancing mysteries which, growing up, he desires materially to make his own. Just so does an old man, living in his second childhood, try to recall trifling incidents, straining his eyes to decipher the dim and faded handwriting in old notes. The hoary "child" thus attempts to recapture memories purified, like wine, by age, and to understand the later actions of his own life in the light of earlier ones, planning in retrospect the reliving of his mortal existence.

This all applies to historical research work. Consciously or unconsciously, we are endeavoring to discover past beauties and mysteries and to find in them explanations for phenomena existing in our own culture. Often disappointed upon seeing the humble origins of our ideals, still we continue asking ever, Why? In short, we of the Occident are energetic and loyal to spiritual ideals in spite of apparent materialism, and often, moreover, without knowing why.

The Oriental is passive, and his outlook on life and on questions connected therewith seems far more practical and fixed. This attitude needs definition by an Oriental. I think that the following letter of a

Moslem *ḳāḍī* in reply to Sir Austen Henry Layard, who had requested some information regarding the population of the city in which the *ḳāḍī* resided, makes it clearer than volumes written by Western scholars:

MY ILLUSTRIOUS FRIEND AND JOY OF MY LIVER!

The thing you ask of me is both difficult and useless. Although I have passed all my days in this place, I have neither counted the houses nor have I inquired into the number of the inhabitants; and as to what one person loads on his mules and the other stows away in the bottom of his boat, that is no business of mine. But above all, as to the previous history of this city, God only knows the amount of dirt and confusion that the infidels may have eaten before the coming of the sword of Islam. It were unprofitable for us to inquire into it. O my soul! O my lamb! seek not after the things which concern thee not. Thou camest unto us and we welcomed thee. Go in peace.

Of a truth thou hast spoken many words, and there is no harm done, for the speaker is one and the listener is another. After the fashion of thy people thou hast wandered from one place to another, until thou art happy and content in none. We (praise be to God) were born here, and never desire to quit it. Is it possible, then, that the idea of a general intercourse between mankind should make any impression on our understandings? God forbid!

Listen, O my son! There is no wisdom equal unto the belief in God! He created the world; and shall we liken ourselves unto Him in seeking to penetrate into the mysteries of His creation? Shall we say, Behold this star spinneth around that star, and this other star with a tail goeth and cometh in so many years? Let it go! He from whose hand it came will guide and direct it.

But thou wilt say unto me, "Stand aside, O man, for I am more learned than thou art, and have seen more things." If thou thinkest that thou art in this respect better than I am, thou art welcome. I praise God that I seek not that which I require not. Thou art learned in the things I care not for; and as for that which thou hast seen, I pour confusion on it. Will much knowledge create thee a double belly, or wilt thou seek paradise with thine eyes?

O my friend! if thou wilt be happy, say, "There is no God but God!" Do no evil, and thus wilt thou fear neither man nor death; for surely thine hour will come!

The meek in spirit (*al-faḳīr*), IMAM ALI ZADE

Applying all these theoretical considerations to the reality, one must always remember the admixture of races. It is more difficult to analyze this in America or in Europe, where civilization forges all with terrific force, at least externally, into certain standardized forms, than in the East. As my personal experiences in the Orient are confined to Anatolia, the following thoughts should be considered as referring

to that country only. I am reluctant, moreover, to systematize or generalize such infinitely delicate and intricate material as the thinking and feeling of human beings. "A human being is a thought of God, and God's thoughts do not repeat themselves." So the paragraphs below simply record my reflections over contacts with Orientals.

In Elbistan this year I had time and opportunity to converse in oriental fashion, not pressed for time, with Anatolians. There were Turks, Arabs, Indo-Arians, Jews, and many others, pure-bloods and mixed, but all Anatolians. All had been molded into a certain degree of similarity by their land and its conditions, though less than we in America and Europe have been molded by our civilization. But nearly always the characteristics of their blood manifested themselves. With few exceptions, the reaction to all things was materialistic.

My particular line of occupation, *asar atika*, a man occupying himself with antiquities, in contrast to *antikachi*, a man buying or selling antiquities for profit, was utterly beyond their ken. More than once an old man patted me on the shoulder with a benign smile, just as he would have patted a child playing with a stone or a stick in which a grown-up can see nothing—which for him is just a stone or a stick, but for the child something important through an association of thoughts—though at the same time he is reluctant to mar the innocent pleasure shining from the child's eyes. But the younger men, less tolerant, smiled at me derisively, openly registering their conviction that I was mentally unsound. Some there were who, actuated by the ancient custom of giving a guest anything he desires, would proffer help, while others would endeavor to take financial advantage of me by selling knowledge or objects. Furthermore, a frequent attitude of minor officials in the interior was that of utilizing my presence and my labor on the history of Anatolia to advance the efforts of the new government in fostering patriotic pride. All failed to understand that the work was being performed with a spiritual aim; with rare exceptions, they had grave suspicions that material gain was the objective.

Though attached to his country in a general way, the actual interest of the Anatolian is limited to his nearest surroundings, extending, for the most part, not beyond the boundary of the land where his flocks graze.

An important factor in the East is the conception of time. Historic values, as stated above, are unknown. Time in our sense is an unknown factor. There is no quick, no slow—only timeless time, old and new. "Old" means everything now in use and approved of; "new" means things in use, but not generally approved of. For the Anatolian along the highways and in the larger cities, the automobile is old, as is agricultural machinery in the Adana plain; both for the reason that they are useful, since facilities are present there to repair them and keep them in operation. For the Anatolian in the interior, where many decrepit cars are to be seen, the motor is new, not "perfect," not practical, since there facilities for repairs are lacking.

I shall never forget the gentle smile of an old man on a donkey, as we met him near Malatya. Like ourselves, he was traveling to Elbistan—for him, admittedly, a journey of many days, while we boasted to make it in one. He smiled noncommittally. Six days later he passed us near Yapalak, where we lay crippled by a broken differential. Again he smiled gently and noncommittally. Without much exertion or excitement his beast had brought him to Yapalak, whereas we, traveling the new way, had experienced both excitement and anxiety and now were entirely unable to proceed until it pleased Allah. So why change? Why hurry? In due time Allah will make all things perfect; that is, the "new" will become "old."

Historically, old is everything past or fading from memory. "Sixty years" means very old, beyond recollection; whereas "from *giaurs*" or "from Rumlis" means so old that it must be prior to the Moslem conquest. Concomitantly, the Anatolian does not understand why, if one is interested in old remains regardless of their commercial value, the ruins of a recently destroyed village are not as important as the remains of a castle of the Hittites.

"Far" is sixteen hours, more than one can walk in a day. This is sufficient to know. If one wants to travel "very far," let him inquire again the next day. But inequalities of distance the Oriental appears to ignore; for example, he makes no distinction between the distances from Elbistan to Sivas and from Elbistan to Samsun. He departs on a trip to Mecca in the same fashion that he would start to walk to the next village.

The Oriental never shares our hunger for adventure. He clings reso-

lutely to the old and tested. We frequently assume that a wealthy Anatolian is miserly because he stores his money away in a chest, at the same time riding about in a shabby old car and living in a ramshackle house which he could well afford to replace. But he reasons that the money itself is of great value; and, further, he knows his old automobile and his old house. If he should invest his money to replace both, what guaranty has he that the new will be as satisfactory as the old?

The Anatolian is not opposed to progress, but he does not accept the new until it has passed through the experimental stage and he is convinced of its superiority. He pulls a new machine apart to find out not *why* it works but *how* it works. His primary interest is in the parts, not the whole. Last year electric light was new in Malatya, mysteriously new. Today it is old, and the number of good electricians one finds there is surprising. They are quick to scent trouble; but since their knowledge of the *how* is unaccompanied by an understanding of the *why*, they often make repairs which are the despair of Western engineers.

Many of the older men elicited my admiration for their ability to adjust themselves to modernization while maintaining simultaneously a fervid adherence to the letter and spirit of their religion. For instance, I met in Elbistan a number of old Turkish artisans who openly recited their prayers amid the scoffs and jeers of ultra-modern youths, while at the same time using many Western tools and inventions without considering them evil.

The native of Anatolia is shrewd in practical things. When a custom or method has been fully inaugurated and recommended as superior to that which preceded it, he accepts it completely, just as decisions in religious questions are arrived at through the *ijma*—general agreement of the learned. On some occasions his approval is registered without any investigation, out of blind confidence in a leader who has attested its value. As further proof of this shrewdness, holy places of pre-Moslem times have been taken over as Moslem, because of traditions of miracles. Why not profit from these hidden potentialities? The new Mauser rifle is now in common use, the majority having discovered that it has a longer range and shoots more accurately. Likewise the fez has been discarded; for Gazi Mustafa Kemal

Pasha wished it, and, being powerful enough to enforce the law, he is "right" about the law.

The point of view of the modern Anatolian toward governments, as such, is of vast importance to the scholar delving into the ancient political history of the land. In certain regions, particularly the remote ones, a central government is regarded principally as a nuisance. Why should one pay taxes in money or labor without getting something visible in return? With the development of railroad and telegraphic communication, of course, some change has taken place. The natives recognize in a measure the advantages to be derived by the whole from the co-operation of its parts, but few are yet able to understand so vast a unit as the nation. The general reaction is one of mistrust toward the central government. The individual under the empire did not comprehend why he should pay taxes and more taxes. Was not the court of the Sultan far, far away in İstanbul? He did not object so much to having to pay for his immediate ruler, the *dere bey*, or even for the *pasha*, since both the *dere bey* and the *pasha* could be seen. The *pasha's* palace too was visible. In other words, he could see what was being done with his money. Certainly, if even these taxes became too burdensome, he would revolt. But his anger and resentment could be incited against the central government with far less provocation than against his local rulers. Through every period of his history the Anatolian has been accustomed to obey a class rather than a person; consequently the new Turkish government is confronted with a most difficult problem in endeavoring to convince the individual that its aim is "his" good and not the advantage of a class or personage. The foregoing and many more purely human facts must be kept in mind in doing research work in Asia Minor.

When our results are built jointly with those of other Institute projects into a larger structure of knowledge, one small, but important, part of its foundation will be the past history of Anatolia. In preparing its part of that foundation, the Anatolian Expedition is charged with the responsibility of collecting and shaping the raw material. Our work began in 1926. Excavation of the Alishar *hüyük* has furnished us a series of carefully registered culture layers and their contents. On the archaeological-topographical side, the survey of a particular topographical unit has been finished. Moreover, exploration has continued

MAP I

ROUTES TRAVERSED, 1926–29

to clarify the general situation and to suggest connections with other parts of the ancient historical world. This year especially, connections toward Syria were sought and threads discerned. An accident prevented similar investigation northeastward, toward the Caucasus.

The amount of material to be collected is almost incredible, and in the necessary process of elimination the danger of discarding significant elements and choosing unimportant ones is great. Furthermore, as a consequence of the swift Westernization, there is great danger that many inscriptions and sculptures will disappear forever into gravel or concrete! On one occasion I tried for fully two hours to rescue a Hittite stela, found a few weeks before, from its fate—being crushed to gravel to be strewn on a new highway. At another time I stood helpless before a mass of concrete into which a workman had thrown a large stone block bearing a Greek inscription. One is confronted everywhere by the spectacle of survivals of the old life being re-used for the new; in spite of all the efforts of the government, much invaluable material vanishes. As a consequence, many breaks in our knowledge we shall be able to mend only insufficiently and after extensive and painstaking research.

I had planned this year to explore the territory around the Taurus and Anti-Taurus, linking it up with the work of the previous seasons. The eastern half of the shore of the Black Sea was also on my program, in addition to a few minor investigations (see Map I). For the first time, I had the pleasure of being accompanied by Mr. Henry J. Patten, who is deeply interested in the ancient history of Anatolia and has financially assisted us in its exploration. The first part of our travel proved to be very strenuous, but Mr. Patten was an ideal companion. Later, Professor Martin Sprengling joined the Expedition for the purpose of gaining a general impression of present conditions in Turkey and their bearing on our work. He hoped also to make a special investigation, but unforeseen circumstances unfortunately rendered it impossible this year. My own season's work was ended prematurely by an automobile accident which resulted in serious injury to my faithful chauffeur, Hüssein, and slight injury to myself. Consequently, our plans for exploration of the Black Sea coast in 1929 had to be abandoned.

The survey of the square around Alishar, completed last year, was

checked in detail by Mr. F. H. Blackburn. The excavation of the Alishar *hüyük* was continued by Dr. E. F. Schmidt and Messrs. Martin, Bolles, and Schüler. Mr. Reifenmüller, who, with Messrs. Martin, Blackburn, and Scharer, had been in the field during the winter with the Iraq Expedition of the Oriental Institute, was again with us.

This year, as before, we were assisted in every possible way by the Turkish government. We would thank especially H. E. Cemal Hüsni Bey, Minister of Public Instruction, H. E. Şukri Kaya Bey, Minister of the Interior, and H. E. Kemal Za'im Bey.[1] All our friends of previous years—H. E. Hamdullah Subhi Bey, Mr. Jefferson Patterson and Malik Bey of the American embassy in Ankara, Professor von Mészáros, Dr. Hamid Zubein of the Ethnological Museum in Ankara, and Mr. Aggiman—contributed much aid and advice, as did Dr. M. Schede, director of the German Archaeological Institute in İstanbul.

To all the members of the Expedition and to our friends I wish to express my most sincere thanks for their co-operation and help. I wish also to acknowledge my indebtedness to Miss Bettie Weary for her valuable help and suggestions in the preparation of this manuscript. Last, but by no means least, I wish to express to Dr. T. George Allen my sincere gratitude for his painstaking work on all the publications of the Anatolian Expedition.

[1] In personal names and in the names of the *vilayet* cities, the spellings used in this "Communication" are those of the Turkish government. The chief differences between its new alphabet and the system which, following our previous method of transcription, we continue to use elsewhere, are:

TURKISH	ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
c	*j*, sounded as in English
ç	*ch*, sounded as in English
ğ	*gh*, often silent
h	*h* and *kh*
ı (no dot)	*ü* as indefinite vowel. This symbol is used to represent its normal German sound also
j	*zh*
ş	*sh*

II

EXPLORATIONS TO THE SOUTHEAST

After a final conference with the Director in Chicago, I sailed from New York on April 13, 1929. During a two days' stay in Paris I had access to some very interesting information at the Louvre on the most recent excavations in North Syria. From there I went to Berlin, where I attended the centennial celebration of the Archaeological Institute of the German Empire. Scholars from every part of the world had assembled for this convention, and sixty-eight lectures were delivered on excavations being carried on in various continents. It was all distinctly instructive, and much valuable information was acquired as to technic and results. Then I spent two weeks more in studying the collections, especially the pottery specimens from Asia Minor. On May 17 I left for İstanbul, where Mr. Patten expected me to join him. I arrived in İstanbul on May 21, during the days of Bairam, which I employed in paying visits to our friends and continuing my studies in the museum. At the end of Bairam we left for Ankara, after having experienced considerable difficulty in securing train reservations because of the closing of the National Assembly on the last day of the month. In Ankara the necessary steps were taken to procure our permits. Through the helpfulness and courtesy of both of the ministries involved, we did not have long to wait.

A new Ford car had been given to our Expedition by the courtesy of Mr. Patten. Mr. Reifenmüller was already in Alishar, and Hüssein was awaiting us in Ankara. Two days before our departure from İstanbul Messrs. Martin, Blackburn, and Scharer had arrived from Baghdad, where they had been working with the Oriental Institute's Iraq Expedition during the winter and early spring. Dr. Schmidt also had reached Ankara. Since there were still some formalities to be completed at Alishar in connection with the excavations and Mr. Patten had to be in Mersin on a definite date, we decided to go on to Alishar without waiting for all the members of the Expedition to assemble.

On June 3 Mr. Patten and I took the train for Haji Shefatli. All the

members of the Anatolian Expedition who had reached Ankara, as well as a few Turkish friends, were there to give us a send-off. Three days previously, Hüssein had started in the car. Although the distance to be covered ordinarily takes only fifteen hours, I deemed this early start essential in view of a week of rainy weather, since Anatolian roads become unnavigable after only a few hours' rain, the little bridgeless creeks being transformed in that time to rushing torrents.

The train left at 7:00 A.M. sharp. The railroad to Kayseri follows the Tabakshaneh Su, from the end of which it goes straight eastward until it reaches the Küzül Irmak near Yakhshi Han. Beside the railway runs the road by which in 1926 we had entered the Küzül Irmak basin for the first time. Kirik Kaleh, where in 1926[1] we spent a night in a tiny sun-dried brick hut, has grown into an enormous industrial development of ammunition factories and magazines, with neat houses for the workmen. This site covers the original area of the ancient Eccobriga, but is four times larger. Most of the remains of that important Roman and Byzantine city now lie beneath concrete foundations and floors. The complete displacement along the railroad of all Arabic writing by the new Turkish alphabet in Latin characters was, for me, a new feature. The sun finally succeeded in emerging from the clouds, and it beat down mercilessly as we descended in great hairpin curves to the Delije Su valley. Everywhere on this trip the devastation wrought by the winter and spring rains could be observed. Central Anatolia, however, having experienced for two consecutive years a parching drought which had destroyed much of its crops and valuable cattle, looked upon the torrential rain as a blessing in disguise.

Nearing the Haji Shefatli station, I peered anxiously out of the window to see whether one of our cars was there to meet us; but no such welcome sight met my eyes. Below the little station there was a new tent and a huge heap of boxes and other material, covered with tent cloths, for our camp. Two of our old workmen from Alishar met us. There was nothing we could do but put up a camp bed in the tent for Mr. Patten (Fig. 1). Osman "Pasha," the owner of what we called the "Haji Shefatli Palace" (Fig. 2), where we had been forced to spend many nights during 1927 and 1928, was obviously perturbed that we

[1] *OIC*, No. 2, p. 28, and "Oriental Institute Publications" (hereafter abbreviated to *OIP*), V, 60–65.

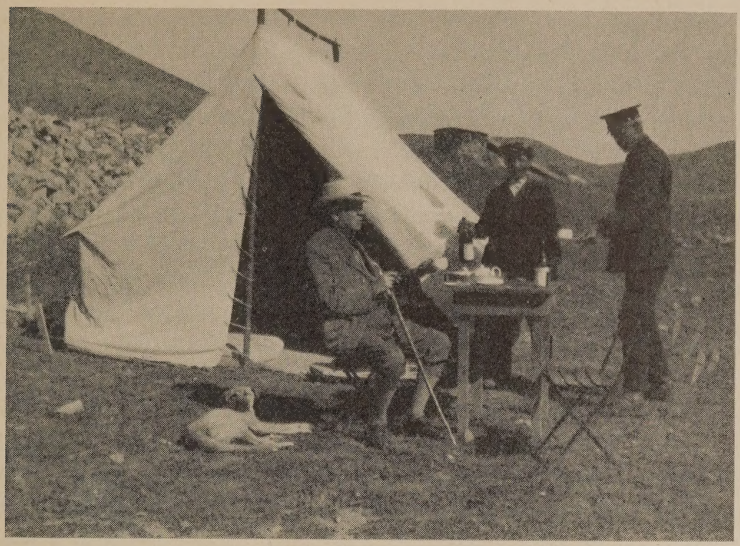


FIG. 1.—Mr. Patten's tent at Haji Shefatli

FIG. 2.—The "Haji Shefatli Palace"

now had our own *oda*. The "Palace" consists of one room, of not more than 150 square feet, with no window and one small door. Its interior is filled with tins and boxes. The furnishings consist of one small wooden bench, two rags (formerly rugs), two iridescent glasses, three small coffee cups without handles, two small copper pots, a benzine tin for water, and a key 28 centimeters long. I was pleased, however, that it was not imperative for us again to take refuge there. We passed the evening seated before our tent with Zeki Bey, our old friend the station master, who had prepared food for us. The twilight was beautiful. Far away at the horizon we could see the peak of the Sumerin Sivrissi, at the foot of which was our *hüyük*.

We were all hoping hard that the car would put in an appearance the next morning. Mr. Patten and myself went down to the *hüyük* near the station. From its top we discerned in the distance two slowly moving dots. An hour later, when they had reached the village of Haji Shefatli, we could distinguish them as cars. The Konak Su, which under ordinary conditions carries very little water, was now a large river, and for several hundred meters the road leading to it was covered by water. The two dots which we had seen turned out to be our old truck and one of our smaller cars. Several hundred meters before it reached the station, the truck declined to continue, and the small car had to tow it. Here I experienced my first misgiving about our trip to Alishar. But we loaded the truck quickly and started eastward.

I have gone over this road many times in the past three years, but I never found it more impassable than on this occasion. Before long the truck, with its motor growling, obstinately stuck in the mud. The inevitable had to be done, so without more ado we all turned out and unloaded it; then, with the aid of the other car and all available man power, we hauled it out of the slough. But the job was only half-done, for it had to be reloaded; so we carried the boxes and sacks through water and mud knee-deep, piled them on, and started off again. This experience was repeated four times before reaching our camp in the early afternoon; so, needless to say, we were by then rather fatigued. We were, however, heartily welcomed by Messrs. Reifenmüller and Scharer, and our ill humor was somewhat mollified by the splendid meal that our new French chef had prepared. Several of our old workmen were busy on the mound, carrying down the dump soil with the aid of the field railroad; and at six o'clock, when

the day's work was finished, they streamed down and almost mobbed us, so effusive was their joy at our return. The camp had been beautified by several trees, which Mr. Reifenmüller had planted, and the new darkroom had been nearly finished by Mr. Schüler, who was with us for the first time.

As Mr. Patten had to catch a steamer which was to leave Mersin on June 17 for Cyprus, I wished to start as soon as possible on our trip southward, being apprehensive that we would encounter difficulties because of the condition of the roads. I anticipated that most of the bridges would be destroyed and many rivers unfordable. I intended first, however, to make a two days' excursion to Boghaz Köi. The actual excavation work would not begin before the arrival of Dr. Schmidt, since this year it was entirely under his jurisdiction. I figured that he would arrive while we were at Boghaz Köi; but, as it developed, he and Mr. Martin did not reach Alishar until two days after we had left for the south. They were, it seems, unavoidably detained in Ankara because of governmental delay in appointing a commissioner.

On June 5 we left for Boghaz Köi, adequately provided for by our "camp mother," Mr. Reifenmüller. We went by way of the Kerkenes Dagh. This largest preclassical site in Asia Minor still remains a vast mystery, and diverse theories concerning it again occupied my mind. Dr. Schmidt's test excavation of last year[1] had established the fact that the remains of the city are post-Hittite, but no data are yet available as to the builders of the $7\frac{1}{2}$-kilometer wall. In any event, it must have been the center of a strong and powerful empire. Perhaps it may develop that here, after all, was the capital of the Cimmerians, or the famous Pteria,[2] or possibly one of the Galatian *oppida*. Gray clouds, spiritual and physical, rising from every side, then forced us to proceed northward. We reached Hüyük near Alaja without mishap, since the road, running over elevated territory for the most part, was fairly dry. The sculptures were still scattered about in the village lane as we had left them last year, while one new sculpture, showing the hind part of a charging lion (Figs. 3 and 4), had been unearthed by the natives when they were excavating for the foundation of a new building.

The dark clouds drew nearer and nearer. We speeded up, hoping to

[1] See his report in *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (hereafter abbreviated to *A J S L*), XLV (1929), 221–74.

[2] Herodotus i. 76.

FIG. 3.—Relief sculpture recently discovered at Hüyük: part of a charging lion

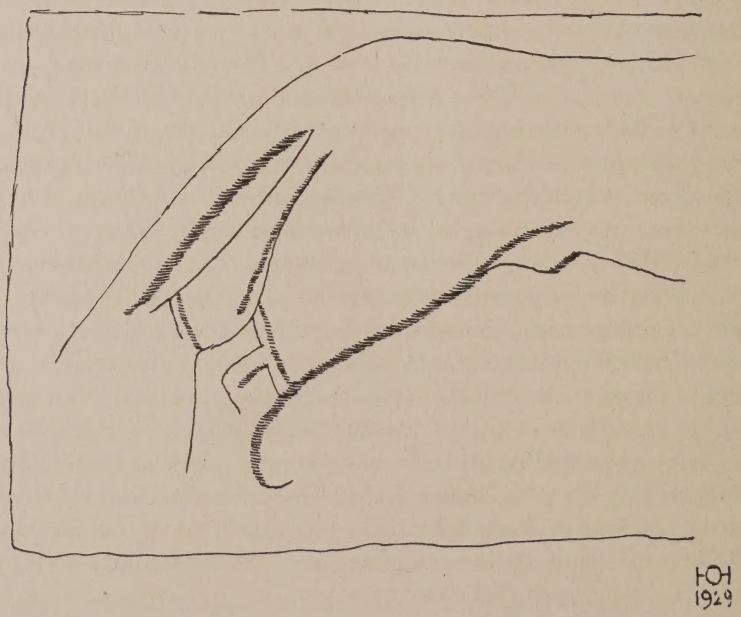


FIG. 4.—Sketch of the lion relief recently discovered at Hüyük

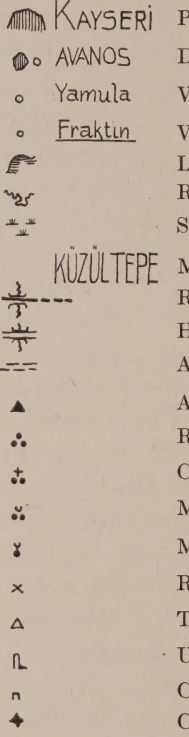
beat the storm to the watershed which had to be crossed before descending to the Budak Özü. But when we were only halfway up, the thunderstorm broke. Obstinately we drove ahead, but very soon the road became a torrent. After leaving the village of Kaimar, where the road ascends a little, the car refused to move. Completely drenched, we finally succeeded with much difficulty in pushing it up this last elevation. Then, literally sliding down, we reached Yükbash; or, rather, we saw Yükbash. The small creek between us and the village was now a river some 300 meters wide, and great masses of water were streaming westward. Two of us waded through this river at several places, but we failed to locate a single track where the mud was less than half a meter in depth or the water lower than our thighs. I could see no way out but to leave Mr. Patten and Mr. Blackburn there in the car, while two of us walked to Boghaz Köi, which was only 2 kilometers away. There I knew we should find our old friend Zia Bey, who would dispatch a horse and carriage to get Mr. Patten and Mr. Blackburn.

Two kilometers should take no more than twenty-five minutes; these two took us more than two hours. Until we reached the village of Boghaz Köi, which is on an elevation, we were wading up to our knees in water, which was streaming against us with great force. Zia Bey and his three sons received us with all the graciousness of country gentlemen. Since it was obviously impossible at the moment to get a horse and carriage through to Yükbash, the youngest boy went off on a horse, accompanied by two servants, to rescue Mr. Patten and Mr. Blackburn. My companion and I were provided with dry clothing, and we were soon assembled in the guest room exchanging compliments and experiences with our host.

Very early the next morning Mr. Patten and Mr. Blackburn arrived in the car. Shortly after we had left them, they had managed, with the help of a few men and some oxen, to get to the village, where they had passed the night. In the morning, since the road was again passable, they reached Boghaz Köi in fifteen minutes. Together we visited the city and Yazili Kaya, then hurried off, as rain clouds were again coming up. In order to avoid the slopes at Kaimar, I decided to follow the Budak Özü northward until we reached the Sungurlu-Alaja road. To our dismay, we found the latter to be nearly impassable. For

1 kilometer we had to assist the Ford across muddy pastures. So we did not arrive at Alaja until late in the afternoon. As it would have been too hazardous to attempt to return by the field roads south of Köhne, in their present condition, we went back southward along the same road by which we had come. We stopped at Yozgat for the

KEY TO MAPS II–VIII



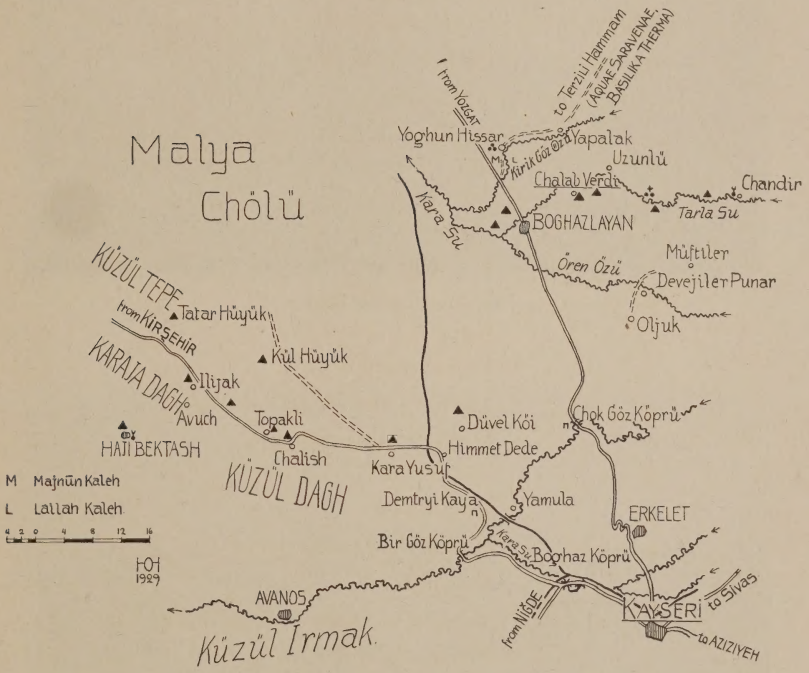
Province capital (*vilayet*)
District capital (*kaza*)
Village or site
Village or site with "Hittite" hieroglyphs
Lake (*göl*)
River (*su*)
Swamp
Mountain
Railway and bridge
Highway and bridge
Ancient highway
Ancient settlement mound (*hüyük*)
Roman or Byzantine ruin
Church ruin
Moslem ruin
Moslem tomb shrine (*türbeh*)
Rock relief
Tumulus or *hüyük* (distinction uncertain)
Upright stone (*dikili tash*)
Cave (*maghara*)
Castle (*kaleh*)

night. In the morning, after paying my respects to His Excellency the *vali*, we left via Topje and Osman Pasha Tekessi for Alishar, which we reached shortly after midday.

The next day our new car was outfitted for the trip to the south (Map II). Mr. Patten and I left the camp on June 10. The weather had changed favorably, and we treasured the hope that our troubles were at an end. Toward noon we reached Chalab Verdi by the same

road which I had followed in 1927. I had deliberately taken it because I desired again to investigate Yoghun Hissar. Shortly beyond Terzili Hammam appeared traces of an old paved road which we could easily follow until we reached Yoghun Hissar. In the midst of this modern village there is a high elevation topped by the remains of

MAP II



THE REGION NORTHWEST OF KAYSERI

an ancient citadel approximately 195 meters long and 75 meters wide (Fig. 5). From its summit can be seen in the valley traces of a city inclosure which has been partly dug up by the natives for building-material. Investigations at several places showed mortar-built wall remains varying in width from 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ meters.

On the road to Boghazlayan are several picturesque rock and sand formations. Two of these, facing each other across a deep and broad valley, are called the castles of Lailah and Majnūn, the Moslem coun-

terparts of Hero and Leander. Investigation disclosed, however, that on neither of them were there any traces of actual fortifications or settlements. I again visited the ancient site of Chalab Verdi. Here we

FIG. 5.—Yoghun Hissar

FIG. 6.—Remains of a Byzantine church near Chandir

turned eastward, following the valley of the Tarla Su. Just before reaching Uzunlü (Üzümlü?) we noticed a small *hüyük*. Farther up the valley we found numerous ancient remains. Before reaching Chandir, we passed the remains of a Byzantine church (Fig. 6), a small

kaleh on a cliff with a few caves (Fig. 7), and a large *hüyük* (Fig. 8). At Chandir itself there is a *türbeh* (Fig. 9) very similar to the one in Cha'ir Shehir, but in a much better state of preservation. The village

FIG. 7.—A *kaleh* near Chandir

FIG. 8.—A *hüyük* near Chandir

is full of wrought stones and inscriptions (Figs. 10 and 11) reputed to have come from Durla Han, a group of fields to the northeast. I did not see any pre-Roman material. Probably Chandir, like Yoghun Hissar and Cha'ir Shehir, in the vicinity of which last we had found the

remains of a church in 1928, had been an important city during Byzantine times.

From Chandir we bent southward, first following narrow paths, until between Devejiler Punar and Oljuk we reached the remains of an ancient road and crossed the Ören Özü ("ruin valley") over a fine old stone bridge. I would have liked to investigate further this valley with the promising name, but on account of the uncertain weather it was advisable to push on toward Kayseri. The gently undulating plain

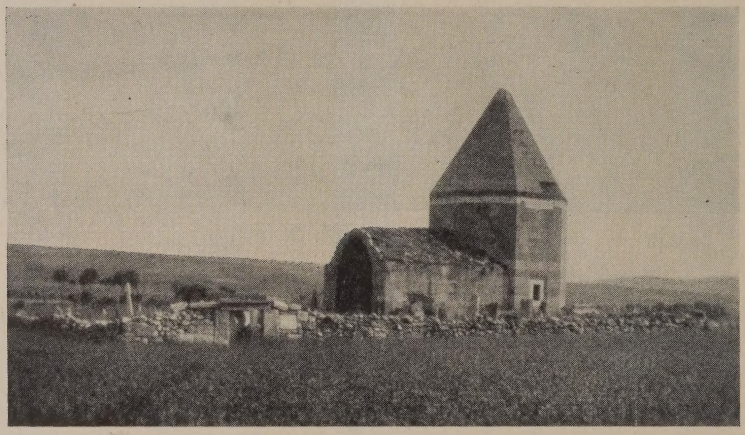


FIG. 9.—The *türbeh* at Chandir

rises gradually southward. After joining the highway from Boghazlayan, we crossed the elevations bordering the Küzül Irmak valley. Many smaller bridges had been swept away, but thus far we had managed to ford the creeks; with the Küzül Irmak, however, any attempt to do so would have been futile. Fortunately, the Chok Göz Köprü still stood, but in a sad condition. This road between Yozgat and Kayseri is no longer busy. The growth of Yozgat in the early part of the nineteenth century had diverted the westward traffic. But the new road westward follows the railway line and crosses the Küzül Irmak at Bir Göz Köprü. In the soft chalk tuff through which the river has broken its way in the vicinity of the Chok Göz Köprü are cut many caves similar to those of the cave settlement at Demtryi Kaya.

The ascent from the narrow river valley to the mountain ridge forming the southern border of the Küzül Irmak valley is one of the worst

FIG. 10.—Byzantine tombstones at Chandir

ΦΛ·ΡΟΥ
ΦΕΙΝΗ
ΑΓΑΘΗ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚ
ΚΟΡΟϹ
ΟΑΝΗϹ

ΕΡΩϹ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΙΟϹ
ΕΡΩΤΙΤΩΤΙΑΤ
ΡΙΜΝΗΜΗϹ ΧΑΙ
ΡΙΝ

FIG. 11.—Greek inscriptions on the tombstones at Chandir

stretches of road I have met with in Asia Minor, surpassed only by its own descent into the valley of Kayseri. It had become dark before we

reached that city, and the Erjias Dagh was securely wrapped in a mantle of clouds. The once important road, along which the ruins of large *hans* appear, is in a deplorable state of decay; only in the neighborhood of Erkelet is it being partly repaired. Late at night, very much shaken up, we reached Kayseri and found lodgings at the Erjias Palace Hotel.

The hotel is in one of the fine old houses near the castle in the center of the city, and affords one a splendid view of the pyramidal

FIG. 13.—Kül Tepe

Erjias Dagh (Fig. 12). That, however, is about all that can be said for it. Early the following morning we paid our respects to His Excellency the *vali*, who, notified from Ankara of our coming, received us with great courtesy. I had not been in Kayseri for two years and was interested to see the remarkable changes that had taken place. Half of the mighty castle is now surrounded by gardens; and new, wide roads are being built through the partly destroyed old quarters.

In the afternoon we made an excursion to the Kül Tepe, which has not changed much since 1926 (Fig. 13). Every year the natives take more soil from the mound for fertilizer, but I have not yet encountered on a single site in Anatolia digging for antiquities as such. Relatively

Fig. 12.—The Erjias Dagh

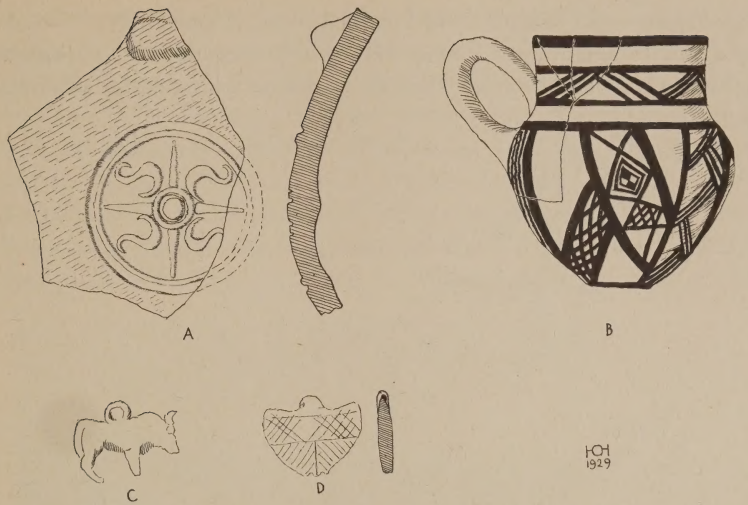


FIG. 14.—Objects from Kül Tepe: *A* and *B*, pottery; *C*, bronze; *D*, stone. Scale, 2:5.

FIG. 15.—Pottery from Kül Tepe

few objects seem to have turned up in the search for fertilizer (Figs. 14 and 15). It is significant that at the site itself no counterfeit cuneiform tablets were offered to me, whereas the bazaar in Kayseri is swamped with them.

The next day I had planned to investigate the plain of Seresek (Map III) and visit the mound which Grothe had partly excavated.[1]

[1] Hugo Grothe, *Meine Vorderasienexpedition 1906 und 1907*, I (Leipzig, 1911), cclxxxxii.

We first drove up to Talas and visited Mr. and Mrs. Nilson. The American College there is open again, and Mr. and Mrs. Nilson are very highly esteemed by both officials and the public. From here we crossed over to Tavlus and started to ascend the plateau of soft lime tuff east of Kayseri. Deep-cut wheel tracks (Fig. 16) served as an index to the age of the road, so we prepared ourselves for the worst. Meanwhile the Erjias Dagh had disappeared in a nebulous sea which threw into relief the singular rounded form of the Ali Dagh (Fig. 17) with its three wartlike protuberances (tumuli). This mound has in the

FIG. 16.—Ruts of an ancient road worn into the soft tuff

past been a favorite place of pilgrimage for both Christians and Moslems, and still is frequented by the Moslems, who bring their lambs to sacrifice during the long droughts. A folk tale about the tumuli tells that when Ali helped the prophet Muhammad to build the Erjias Dagh, the sack in which he carried earth had a hole, and the three large tumuli were formed where the earth slipped out.

The plateau extends for approximately 12 kilometers eastward with many depressions and gullies difficult to cross because of the everywhere-protruding tuff. Meanwhile we saw that on the opposite side of the Seresek valley another cloud wall had appeared, and soon lightning flashed from both sides. We hoped to reach Seresek; but the storm broke above us so quickly that, before we realized it, we

were caught in a wildly rushing torrent, and a few minutes later we landed in a ditch (Fig. 18). With astounding rapidity the water reached the running-board, and we were marooned for two hours in an

FIG. 17.—The Ali Dagh

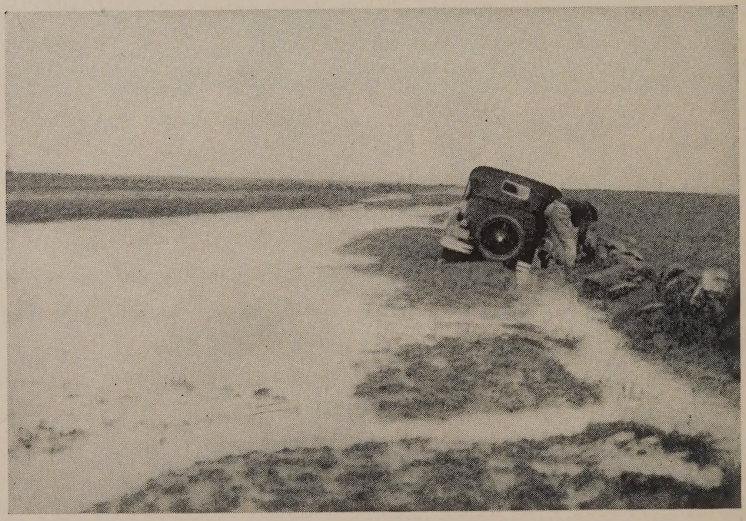


FIG. 18.—On the road to Seresek

indescribable thunderstorm. When the rain had finally abated, we succeeded in extricating the car with the help of some shepherds and an old veteran and made another start.

On descending into the valley, we were soon forced to realize that any hope of advancing farther was futile. The streams were swollen to torrents, and the pastures and fields plainly showed the ravages of the flood. Before the miserable-looking village of Seresek, built on a slight elevation, there were eighteen drowned cattle. Within a few hours the whole valley was converted into a rapidly flowing stream; but as quickly as the water came it disappeared, leaving in its wake such a mass of driftwood and mud that we preferred to work our way back to Kayseri over the rough tuff elevations and to join the "road" itself well up on the high plateau. The poor natives were greatly perturbed about their heavy losses resulting from the cloudburst, and I am pretty sure that they considered us, at least in part, responsible. I was sorry not to be able to investigate this valley thoroughly, for, although small, it seems to me very important, since there once passed through it an old trade route to the east and southeast—to Aziziyeh and Shar, the ancient Comana Cappadocia.

This was our second disagreeable experience this year with Teshub, the old Hittite god of the thunderstorm, who appeared determined to frustrate our research. But we refused to call a truce, and the next morning started early for Everek, on the other side of the Erjias Dagh, to investigate the plains of Everek and Fraktin. The direct road from Kayseri to Everek via Asarjik had become impassable even for pedestrians, so we had to go around the mountain. Near Injesu I investigated a *hüyük*, Haji Kafa Tepessi (Fig. 19), at the foot of which were the remains of a Seljuk water mill. The pottery here was for the most part characterless, but we found some sherds of Alishar Periods I and II. Toward noon, by following the spurs of the Erjias Dagh, we reached Everek, a once large Armenian town.

The *kaimakam* received us very cordially, and offered one of his officials as our guide to Fraktin. A small elevation divides this large plain, in the northeast corner of which lies Everek, from the Fraktin plain. The latter is divided by a steplike formation into a higher and a lower section. Descending the step, we reached the lower part, which at the time was a swamp. At its southeastern outlet are situated the

famous rock reliefs (Fig. 20).[1] The old road to Comana must have passed this point. What interested me most was that in the plain itself, situated one at each side of the ravine (Fig. 21), were two large *hüyüks*. Around the western one (Fig. 22) can be seen ruins, and in their center, in the soft tuff, several large caves. The pottery of several periods was similar to that of the Alishar *hüyük*. However, a distinctly different type was also present, which I found later in large quantities on several *hüyüks* in the Adana plain.

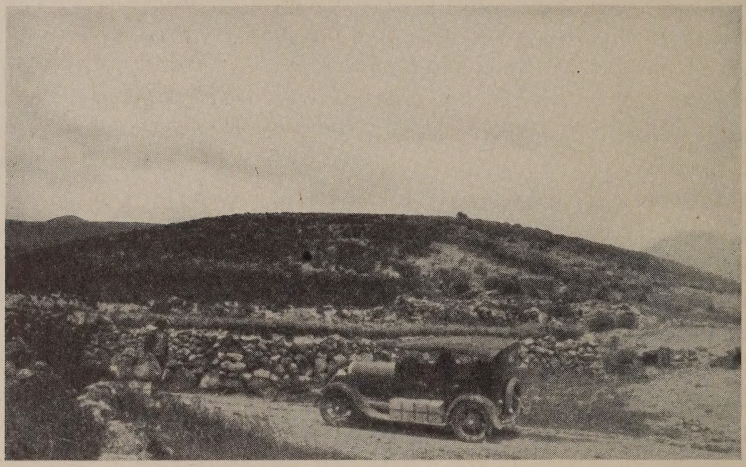


FIG. 19.—Haji Kafa Tepessi

After crossing the plain by a different road, we reached Everek (Fig. 23) in the evening. There we secured sleeping-quarters and, after unsuccessfully experimenting with our new patent gas stove, cooked our evening meal on the customary fire of cow dung. I had been told that near by, at Geleine, on the top of one of the many spurs of the Erjias Dagh, were the remains of a very old *mabet* ("temple"). I decided, therefore, to investigate it before proceeding farther toward the Mediterranean. Again, with the official as guide, we left Everek at sunrise.

Steadily driving uphill, we reached Geleine, a large Byzantine-Armenian ruin on a small plateau. At the north end, toward the mas-

[1] Ramsay and Hogarth, "Pre-Hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia," in *Recueil de travaux*, XIV (1893), 74–94, especially pp. 87–88 and Plate VI.

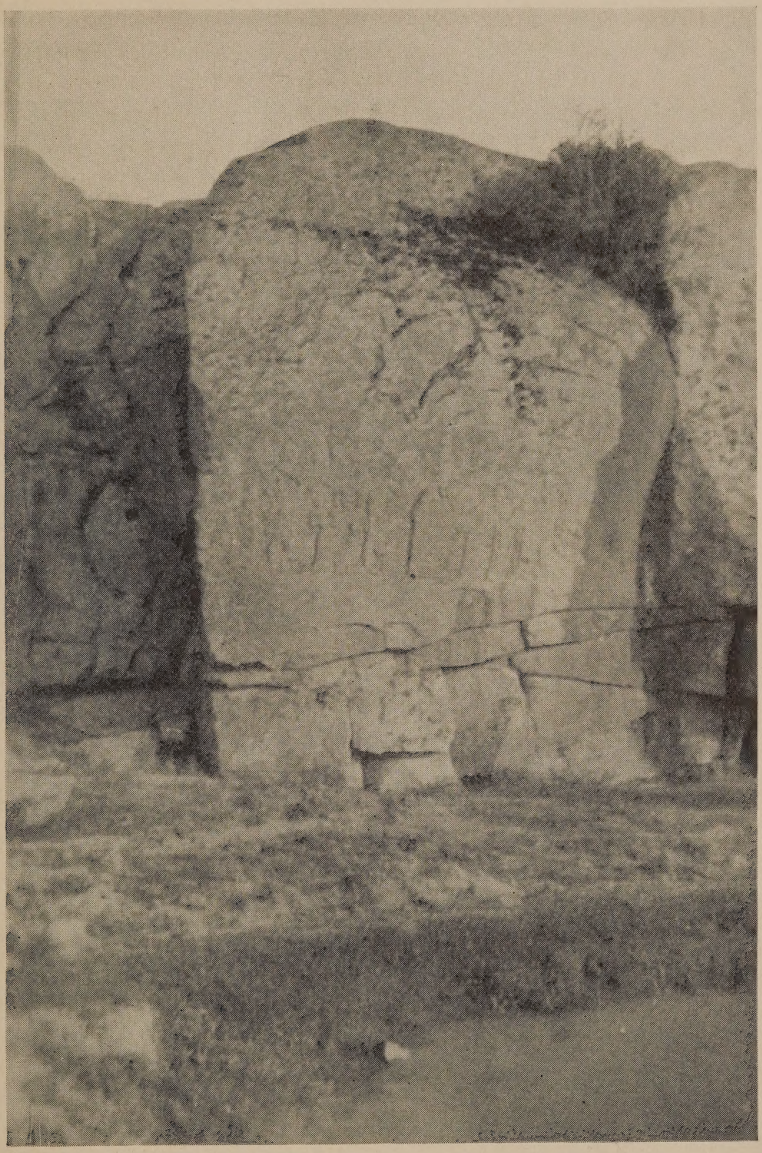


FIG. 20.—The rock sculptures near Fraktin

sive Erjias Dagh, was the steeply conical elevation on which had once stood the supposedly old temple. After having seen the ruins of Ge-

FIG. 21.—The Fraktin ravine in which the sculptures appear

FIG. 22.—The western *hüyük* near Fraktin

leine, I had my doubts as to the date and importance of the "temple"; but inasmuch as I was there, I decided to go up and assure myself.

The climb of 350 meters was tiresome, and on the top I found merely the ruins of an Armenian church not more than one hundred years old. But I was recompensed by a splendid view. In the north was the Erjias Dagh, with its snow-covered peaks, and below lay the ruins of Geleine. All over the plateau there were camps of natives with their flocks, on their way to their summer quarters in the mountains.

FIG. 23.—A town well at Everek

Everywhere could be seen flocks of sheep and goats, with their owners on donkeys, climbing the slopes. Most of the men were riding, whereas the women, carrying small children, were following on foot. Southward extended the plain. At its western border the peculiar rock formations near Develi Kara Hissar were discernible. South and southeast appeared the snow-covered chains of the Anti-Taurus. The triangular plain of Fraktin with its steplike division was clearly visible. After I had descended and searched the ruins for inscriptions, but without success, we went back to Everek and, loading our luggage on the car, left for Niğde, joining the highway not far from Develi Kara Hissar.

Near Develi Kara Hissar the road ascends a steep, steplike formation and reaches a high plateau. This declines toward the center, only to rise again. The western border of the plateau has very picturesque rock formations. The most prominent is the rock mass of Develi Kara Hissar, which, as its name suggests, actually looks like a large black camel (Fig. 24). Within this rock area, on each side of the road, almost opposite each other, are two cliffs, Kush Kaleh and Chifte Kaleh (Fig. 25).

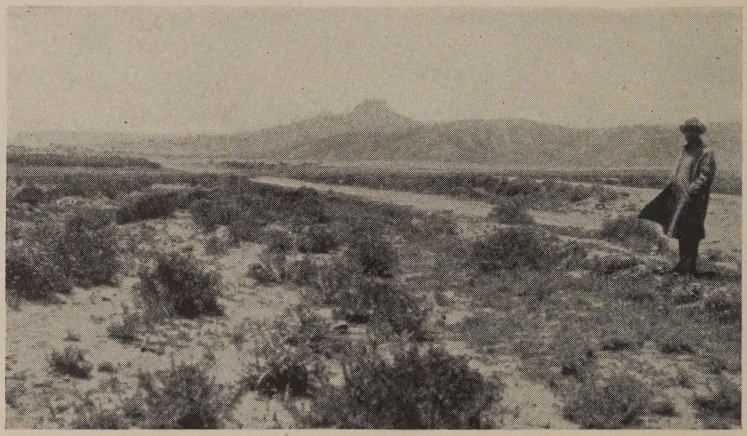


FIG. 24.—Develi Kara Hissar. The town lies at the foot of the mountain

When passing the Kush Kaleh, I noticed some caves in the steep face of the cliff. Investigating them, I found a great number of pottery fragments and obsidian chips. The caves themselves were obviously natural formations, but roughly enlarged by human hands. Going around the cliff, I found a rock tomb (Fig. 26) some 6 meters high, and below it the rough rectangular entrance to a cave. The cave consists of a small anteroom and a larger chamber, from which a tunnel with steplike cuttings, and finally footholes, leads up to the tomb. In the tomb itself there is an anteroom with two columns and a small burial chamber. Another cave had a remarkable entrance (Fig. 27) but a rough interior. There also appeared several small caves, and on the top of the cliff were the remains of walls. It is hard to attribute this monument to any particular culture; the pottery for the most part

was characterless, though I found two pottery fragments of Period IV[1] and a few Byzantine glazed sherds. At the foot of the Kush Kaleh were the probable remains of a Seljuk *han*.

Toward the middle of the plateau we found a *hüyük* (Fig. 28), also near by a *han* of recent date. The view from the top of this *hüyük* is a fine one. In the west is the mountain chain limiting this plateau in its northward reach; in the south, lower mountain chains and the

FIG. 25.— Kush Kaleh

snow-covered Anti-Taurus; in the east, the picturesque rock formations near Develi Kara Hissar; and high above in the north, the snow-covered peak of the Erjias Dagh. Two gashes mark the inlet and outlet of the road, and between them the highway itself looks like an enormous brown snake.

Some 15 kilometers southwest we again entered hilly territory. After crossing the watershed, we reached a small but extremely fertile valley which forms the northeast extension of the large salt steppe north of the Ak Göl. There, with its remarkable buildings of Seljuk times, lies Niğde. We had our lunch in a small restaurant and pushed on southward. Everywhere south of Niğde one finds under construc-

[1] Periods III and IV represent phases of the Hittite supremacy in Anatolia.

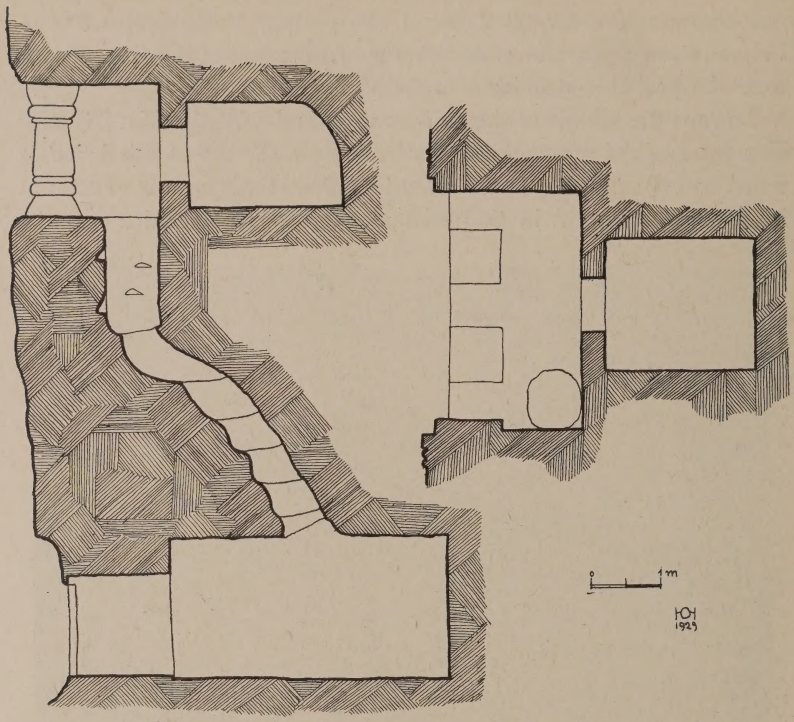


FIG. 26.—A cliff tomb at Kush Kaleh. Section and plan

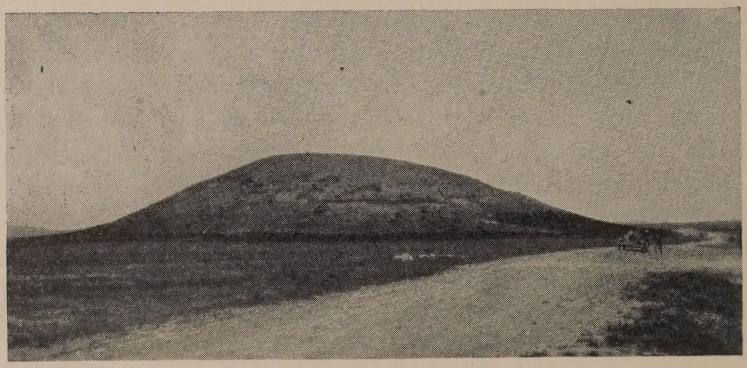


FIG. 28.—Mislik Hüyük

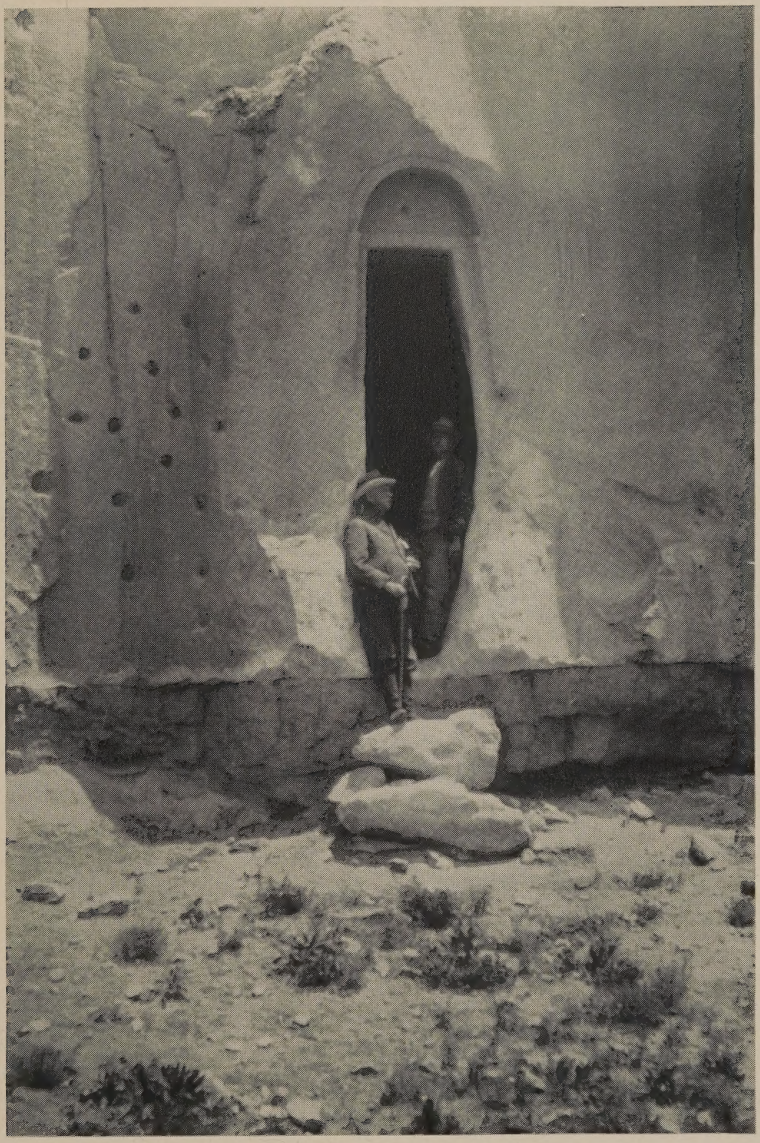


FIG. 27.—Entrance to a cave at Kush Kaleh

tion the railroad line which will connect Kayseri with Ulu Küshla. We visited Tyana for the exceptional view of an old aqueduct (Fig. 29) and then went on to Bor. I wished to pass through the salt steppe to Eregli rather than follow the direct road to Ulu Küshla, which I had traveled in 1926. West of Bor the plain extends table-like, while in the north high mountain chains fade into the horizon, behind which are situated Aksaray and Konya. For 15 kilometers we drove over a very wide road which the continuous rains had furrowed with numerous ditches. Almost immediately after passing Bor, the steppe appeared in its natural aspect, with only the periphery of the plain under cultivation. Hearkening to the dictates of reason, we finally turned back and followed the main road to Ulu Küshla, being by that time quite bored with the unvarying diversion of hauling and hoisting our car back to the level of the road. On this road we had a very imposing view of the Anti-Taurus, which appeared, far as the eye could see, as a solid wall (Fig. 30).

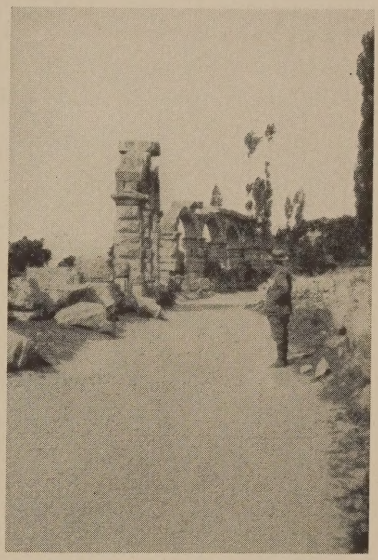


FIG. 29.—The ancient aqueduct of Tyana.

In the evening, when we reached Ulu Küshla, the little town was buzzing with people. Ulu Küshla was the headquarters of the railroad construction firms, and the engineers of the firm of Julius Berger were kind enough to put us up for the night. The weather was intensely cold; but in spite of this the festival of the Türkojak, the educational organization for the modernization of Turkey, was in progress. A military band had come from Niğde, and only European music was played. After the concert there was dancing, at first only by the Europeans; then slowly and by degrees a few Turkish couples dared to show themselves.

The next morning we tried again to reach the salt steppe. Starting

out along the so-called *chaussée,* we reached a large mound a few kilometers away from Eregli. Being aware of how bad the road was, we made many detours to avoid bogs and ditches; but at Burun Hüyük we came to a swamp 2,000 meters long and 500 meters wide, through which the road appeared to lead. The only concrete proof of it, however, was two trucks stuck in the middle; so once more we had to abandon hope of reaching Eregli. By this time we had all had enough of cold and rain, and a great yearning for warm and dry regions possessed us. So we decided the same day to try to cross the Taurus Mountains in order to reach Adana.

FIG. 30.—The Anti-Taurus near Ulu Küshla

The engineers in Ulu Küshla tried vainly to dissuade us from attempting to make it with the car. They advised shipping the Ford by train. So far this year no car had gone over this road, but we decided to try it (Fig. 31). The landscape is one of the most romantic that can be imagined. At times the road lies only a few feet above a rushing torrent, at other times it ascends to a dizzy height, where majestic gorges fall several hundred meters (Fig. 32). Through these same gorges winds the railroad. At Bozanti a small valley is reached. Here the mountains are partly wooded, and the road more than once became impassable. Only an adroit and skilful chauffeur utterly devoid of nerves, like our Hüssein, could manage them. From Bozanti we

FIG. 31.—The road beyond Ulu Küshla

FIG. 32.—In the Taurus

continued to ascend (see Map IV), passing now between beautiful stretches of woods with villages hidden beneath trees perched high up the slope, then by rocky hills watered by rushing gorges (Figs. 33 and 34).

Finally we reached the Cilician Gates (Fig. 35), where the road, running between towering cliffs, is only wide enough for two cars to pass. On both sides stretches the Taurus range, reaching an altitude of 2,000 meters and precluding any possibility of deviation from the

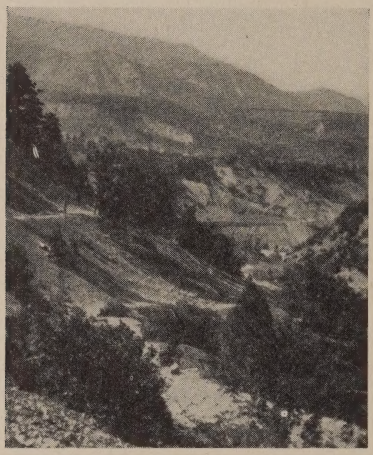


FIG. 33.—The Taurus beyond Bozanti.

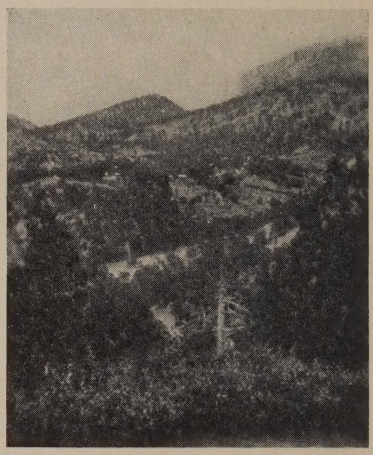


FIG. 34.—A mountain village in the Taurus beyond Bozanti.

road. Soon after passing the Gates a gap between two lofty elevations gave us our first glimpse of the Adana plain, stretching away like a vast sea. In endless hairpin curves the road alternately descends and ascends the many spurs of the main Taurus chain. On the top of one of the lesser spurs we passed a small German military cemetery dating from 1918 (Fig. 36), proving again the importance of this road throughout history, ancient and modern. There have been very few conquering armies in the East which have not passed along this road. The scenery all the way from Ulu Küshla to Tarsus is indescribably beautiful because of its endless variety and bold rock and gorge formations.

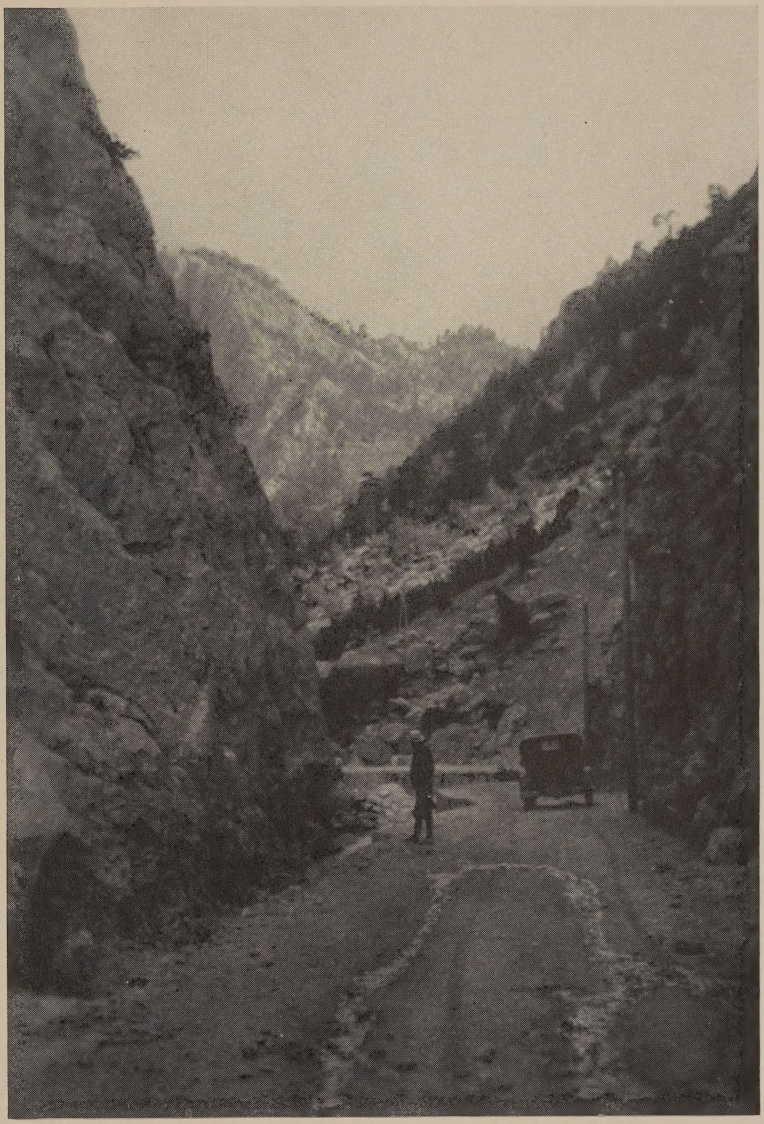
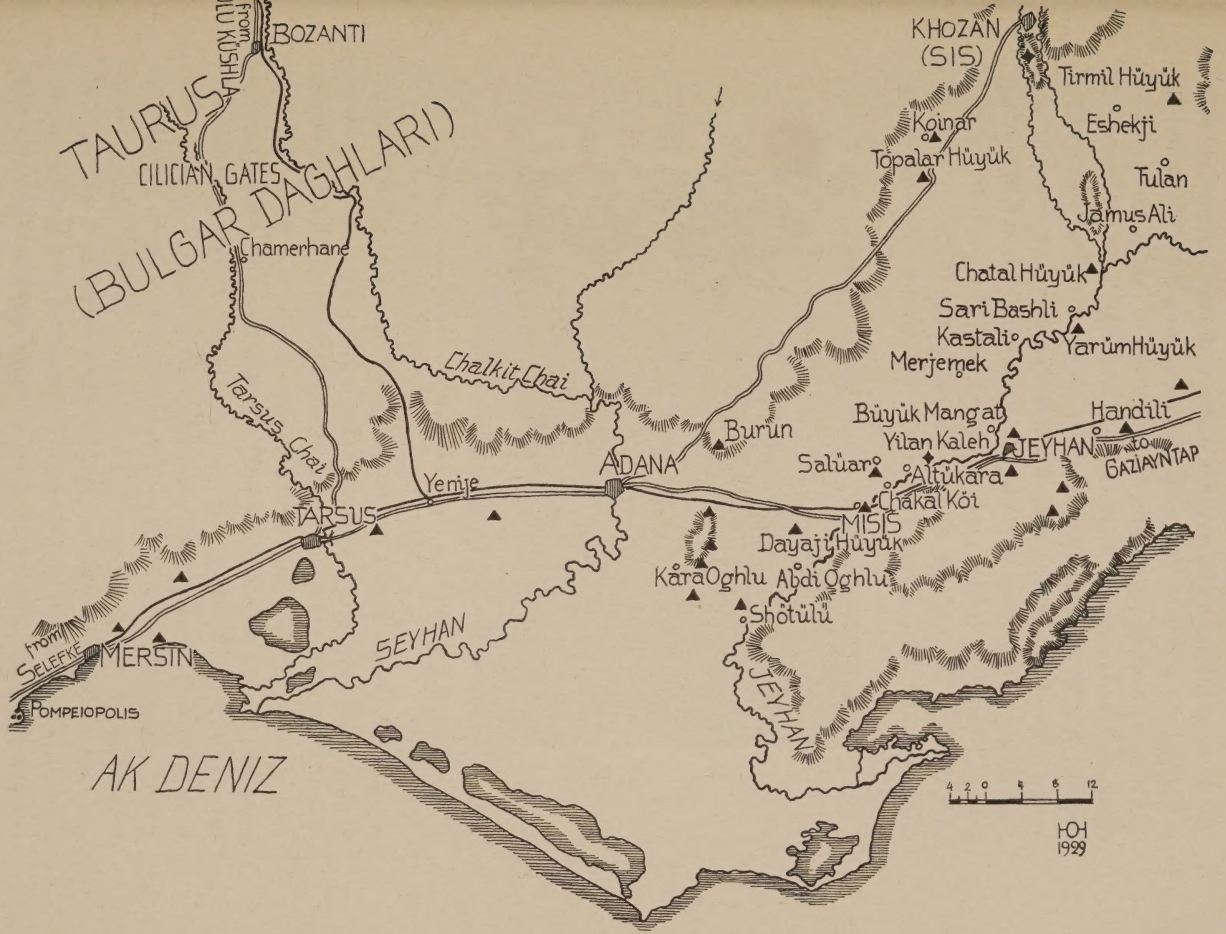


Fig. 35.—The Cilician Gates



THE REGION AROUND ADANA

At Tarsus we reached the Adana plain. A greater contrast between the landscape which we had seen in the morning and that which we now beheld cannot be imagined. The morning had been cold and rainy, the roads consequently stretches of mud, the crops just a few inches high, all in all looking chill and desolate. Now, an exquisite sunset colored a clear sky, the air was balmy, the crops were cut and stacked, and the oleander was in its festive pink, while rich gardens and well-cared-for cotton fields extended east and south to the distant horizon. In the east, apparently suspended from the sky, appeared a mountain chain, while the north and west competed for

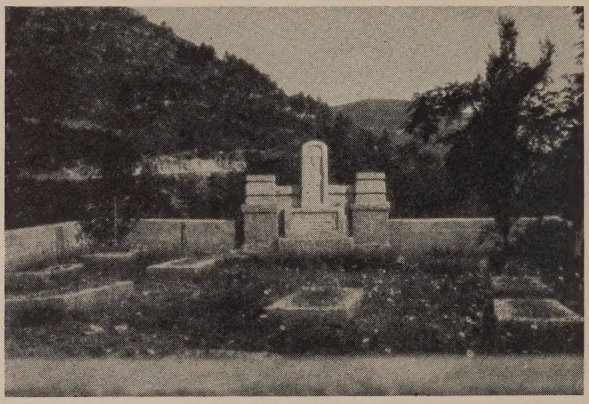


FIG. 36.—A German soldiers' cemetery near the Cilician Gates

honors by offering a rock symphony. First, nearest to the heavens, appeared snow-capped peaks, which far below changed to stark, bare ranges. These were followed by odorous pine woods; and last, reaching to the earth with a condescending gesture, were the warm, smooth green slopes. Within the plain I could distinguish a few wartlike protuberances which held forth the promise of *hüyüks;* but we had decided to call it a day, so we kept to the fairly good road. Very much fatigued, we heartlessly passed, with no tender of assistance, a truck imbedded in the mud.

In Adana we found what seemed a really modern hotel with electric lights, a menu written in French, and a beautiful roof garden. Many large factories and churches, besides mosques and palm trees, were to

be seen from the windows. Everything seemed unreal by contrast with what we had left. Through the narrow streets were moving throngs of people, Europeans as well as Turks; and there were cabs with bells, and even taxis. All in all, it appeared to be a civilized culture. Tired but happy, we retired to our rooms; but in spite of the Western aspect of the hotel I soon became aware that even the domestic pests of Anatolia were willing to become Westernized.

The next day, as we strolled through Adana (Fig. 37), the town lost some of the glamor of the first evening. Soon after 10:00 A.M. it became unbearably hot. Calling at the government building to pay our

FIG. 37.—A street in Adana

respects to the governor general, we were much astonished to see him and most of the other officials in spotless white shirts with soft open collars, very much like the staff in the office of an American concern during dog days. The narrow streets were filled with a busy, shifting crowd, but toward noon they became deserted; and between noon and evening only the traffic policemen, under large umbrellas, were to be seen on the streets. On the outskirts of Adana are the large station of the Baghdad railroad and many fine modern factories. With the exception of Ankara, Adana impressed me as being by far the most advanced and progressive town of the Turkish Republic. In the afternoon we visited the small but important museum opened during the French occupation. There are still several reliefs from Jerablus awaiting transfer to Ankara, a small statue of a king with inlaid eyes from

Tell Halaf, and numerous sarcophagi and capitals from the important classical sites in the Adana plain. Toward evening life started again,

FIG. 38.—The situation of Tarsus, the birthplace of St. Paul

FIG. 39.—An ancient city gate at Tarsus

and we watched the magnificent spectacle of sunset from the roof garden.

The following day, June 17, we left Adana for Mersin, since the

ship which was to take Mr. Patten to Cyprus would leave there in the afternoon. The highway follows the railroad track through a fertile plain. Every patch is under cultivation, and everywhere in the cotton fields groups of workmen with tractors and large threshing-machines could be seen.

From Yenije, where the railroad comes through the Taurus, a branch extends to Mersin, the port of Adana. Soon we approached Tarsus, surrounded by trees and gardens (Fig. 38), situated in the depression of the Tarsus Chai, the ancient Cydnus, where Alexander the Great almost died in consequence of an icy bath.

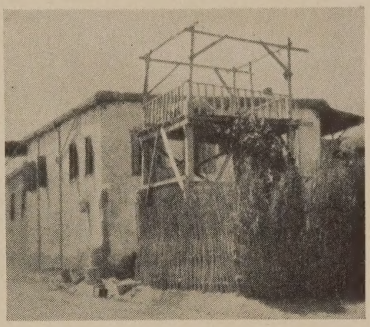


FIG. 40.—A sleeping-tower in Tarsus

Tarsus, the birthplace of St. Paul, has relatively few remains of historic interest. The most impressive ruins are the foundation of a Byzantine fortification and one city gate (Fig. 39), from which the road continues toward Mersin. Here the heat is terrible (cf. Fig. 40), and the swampy plantations of sugar cane are breeding-places of malaria. The plain narrows, the extensions of the Taurus reaching farther and farther toward the south. Soon we could see the Mediterranean. Many villages appeared on the slopes and minor elevations north of the highway. Sand dunes close the plain toward the sea. Mersin was reached at noon. Two steamships, besides many smaller craft, were already lying offshore (Fig. 41). Before boarding the small sloop which would take Mr. Patten to the steamer, we made a last excursion together along the seashore to the beautiful ruins of Pompeiopolis, where still stand erect the imposing remains of a colonnade leading to the sea (Fig. 42).

It was with sincere regret that I parted from Mr. Patten, as Hüssein and I had both become very much attached to him because of his cheerful personality and the fine sportsman-like attitude with which he had borne all the hardships of the trip. From the shore we watched the steamer for a long time as it disappeared toward the south.

In Mersin I had a pleasant surprise. Mr. Regenärmel, whom we

had met at Kirik Kaleh in 1926, was here as chief engineer for Lenz & Co., who were engaged in a vast canalization project to rid the city of its devastating fevers. He had made many excursions into the surrounding country, and offered to accompany me the next day on an excursion southward along the coast.

The road we followed throughout was the highway to Selefke. Mersin is situated in the westernmost part of the Adana plain. A few

FIG. 41.—The roadstead of Mersin

kilometers beyond it, the mountains reach the sea. We passed the ruins of Pompeiopolis, and soon we had left the last vestige of cultivated soil. Rock protrudes everywhere. The promontories, increasing steadily in height, are covered with pine trees, whereas the more level parts of the rocky hills bear wild carob-bean bushes, myrtles, and olive trees (Fig. 43). The deep-cut beds of streams and creeks are filled with shrubs of oleander (Fig. 44). The coast itself is divided into numberless small bays and inlets bordered by steep cliffs, with occasional small beaches. One can easily imagine how well suited this coast was for pirates, with what ease they could hide, and how nearly impossible it was for pursuers to find them.

In many of these smaller bays I noticed small sailing craft anchored,

embarking or disembarking. The natives collect the carob beans and pile them in large heaps on the beach, and at regular intervals sailing craft pass along the coast to collect them. There is also a large production of charcoal. Shortly beyond Alata Han the road actually follows the coast. It is a beautiful drive, with old wall remains or ruins of small castles dispersed everywhere along the road.

At the mouth of the Lamas Su appears a large group of ruins. Here also begins a mighty aqueduct, which sometimes cuts into the rocks, sometimes crosses small but deep gorges in three or four

FIG. 42.—A colonnade at ancient Pompeiopolis.

FIG. 43.—The Mediterranean coast west of Mersin

superimposed rows of arches (Fig. 45). We followed it for 15 kilometers. We passed the ruins of the very large Ak Kaleh, located on top of a rocky hill, surrounded by a large cyclopean wall. Farther on we traversed a 7½-kilometer stretch of ruins, sometimes elegant mausoleums or the remains of old churches, sometimes large defense walls and towers. In the middle of this stretch is situated a large and well-preserved medieval castle. On a small island in the sea stands a second one, the Küz Kalessi. This was the spot to which Mr. Regenärmel wished to bring me. The wealth of ruins here is so vast that it would have been a futile task to even attempt to record them. So I wandered all around and made notes of merely a few features which seemed particularly interesting.

FIG. 44.—An oleander bush near Mersin

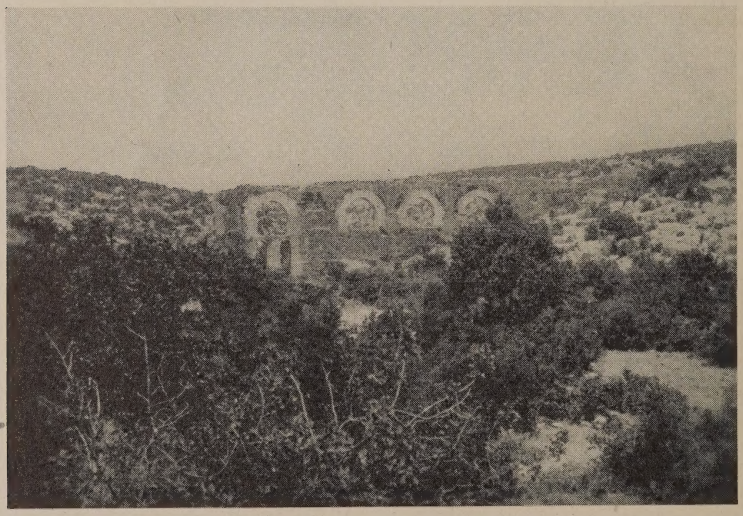


FIG. 45.—Ancient aqueduct near Lamas

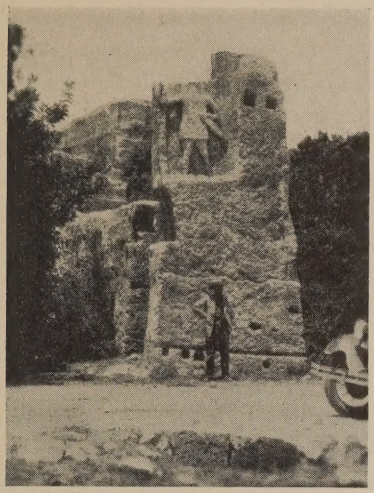


FIG. 46.—A city gate at ancient Corycus. It is cut out of the native rock.

Although the ruins of the Cilician coast have been extensively studied epigraphically, I think that their importance in other aspects than as classical and post-classical remains has not been sufficiently appreciated.[1] As far as I could judge, there are remains here from the times of the Moslem corsairs and the Armenians, the crusaders and the Genoese, back to the second millennium B.C. Especially imposing was the gateway of a defense wall, largely cut, like the wall itself, out of the living rock (Fig. 46). In the thick underbrush appear cyclopean wall

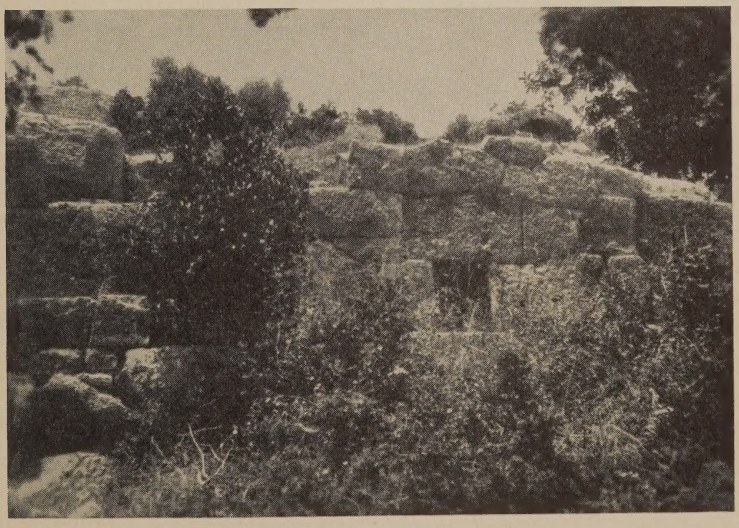


FIG. 47.—A rock tomb at Corycus

[1] Cf. Josef Keil and A. Wilhelm, "Vorläufiger Bericht über eine Reise in Kilikien," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäol. Institutes in Wien*, Vol. XVIII (1915), Beiblatt, cols. 5–60. On the region which I visited, see especially cols. 42–48.

fragments; and between Moslem *türbehs* and Roman mausoleums, frequently attached to the living rock, are many sarcophagi. Rock tombs are cut into rock faces often artificially smoothed (Figs. 47 and 48). It would be worth while to survey carefully just one small section of this immense ruin field, which in length, as previously stated, is $7\frac{1}{2}$ kilometers. How far inland it extends I do not know.

Equally interesting is the shore, where a large castle, in a fair state of preservation, is surrounded on three sides by the sea. On the rocky bank, outside of the outer defense wall, and for several hundred meters toward both sides, are cut innumerable steps and basins. Here also a careful survey would give us a map of an old seaport cut largely into the living rock. The surveyor has but one thing here of which to be wary—a great abundance of snakes. Some of these reptiles are large and repulsive, apparently as much as 2 meters long, but harmless, whereas the small ones, often appearing to be no more than small pieces of black wire, are very dangerous.

FIG. 48.—A rock tomb at Corycus

The castle on the small island taunted me, as I thought I recognized wall constructions of several periods. Furthermore, it did not seem very far away and the warm air lured one to bathe in the sea. So I decided to swim over with Hüssein and two Arabs whom we found loitering at the near-by beach (Fig. 49). I had, of course, underestimated the distance, being unaware of the existence of a very strong current. In three-quarters of an hour we managed to swim over, only to find that the whole castle was built in the time of the Lesser Armenian kingdom in Cilicia. There was no shade, and so we rested a little while on the rocks, exposed to the burning sun. The swim back to the mainland was harder still, and we took an hour to make it. I then rejoined Mr. Regenärmel, who had cleared away the vermin and snakes, in the shade of a large myrtle bush. I felt my back burning a little, but did not think anything of it.

We went on a little farther, leaving the car at a small bay into

which a river emptied. All around the rocky shore were bubbling springs. Following an old path, partly paved, partly cut into the bed rock, we climbed the hill. On our right and left were ruins of various periods. Soon we reached a plateau, in the middle of which there was a deep depression with vertical slopes. Around the depression were extensive ruins of a church and temples, and some remains of large cyclopean walls. The bottom of the depression was in the dark, but rich vegetation could be distinguished. A narrow path with many

FIG. 49.—Küz Kalessi (in background) and my swimming companions. In the foreground is a basin cut in the rock.

rock-hewn steps led downward. Through high grass and thick underbrush we worked our way to its southwest end, where the entrance to the Grotto of Corycus is located.[1] An extraordinary feature of this place is the complete absence of birds or other animals, resulting in a queer and ominous quietness. At the entrance to the Grotto are the ruins of a small Armenian church. It is futile to attempt to describe one's visual impression of this vast dark hole penetrating indefinitely into the earth, and even more impossible to describe the large vaulted

[1] H. Kiepert (ed.), "P. v. Tschihatscheff's Reisen in Kleinasien und Armenien, 1847–1863," *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsheft No. 20 (Gotha, 1867), p. 54.

grotto itself, to say nothing of the sensation experienced as one stands at its apparent end listening to the wild rumblings of a subterranean river. The accompanying sketch (Fig. 50) may give some idea of its dimensions. It is no wonder that this became a holy site, for I cannot imagine more awe-inspiring surroundings. Right at the entrance an inscription in Greek characters is incised into the living rock. Only

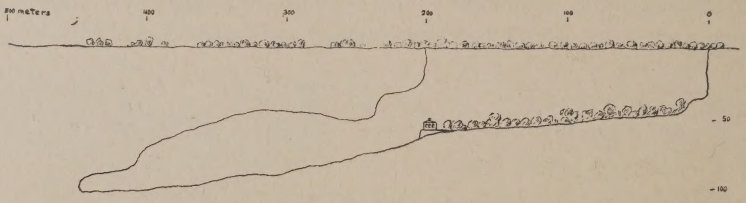


FIG. 50.—The Grotto of Corycus

FIG. 51.—The *hüyük* east of Mersin

its first four lines, in a poor state of preservation, stand above the present level of the ground. As we climbed back, the burning on my back became more intense. Cursory inspection disclosed a bad sunburn, so for the next five days I did not greatly enjoy moving about.

In the evening we reached Mersin. There I found a social life which, of all Anatolian cities, most resembles our own. There are several clubs, and in the evening one goes to a large, well-kept garden at the

shore. The population is heterogeneous, and I was astonished to see so many Frenchmen, Italians, Arabs, and Syrians.

On June 19 we left Mersin for Adana. I had planned to investigate the Adana plain during the next few days before going on eastward to

FIG. 52.—Chatal Hüyük

Fig. 53.—Misis and its *hüyük*

the Euphrates. During this time I visited twenty-four *hüyüks*. They are of three main types (Figs. 51–53). Again, most of them were found on the borders of elevations. Only along the Mersin-Adana-Jeyhan highway were they actually situated in the plain. The pottery was distinctly different from that of the mounds in Central Anatolia.

Quite frequently I found sherds resembling Cypriote wares. On cliffs frequently appear the ruins of castles.

Of all these settlements, Misis interested me most (Fig. 53). It is situated at the outlet of a defile through which the Jeyhan, the ancient Pyramus, pierces an extension of the mountain chain limiting the plain toward the Gulf of Alexandretta on the southeast. In classical times a large *hüyük* on the bank of the Pyramus appears to have formed the acropolis. Remains of the city defense wall, as well as fragments of an aqueduct, are to be seen in the vicinity of the village. Directly at the foot of the *hüyük* a large old stone bridge (see Fig.55)

FIG. 54.—A well near Misis

spans the river. The tactical importance of this site has been recognized since ancient times. Remains of dugouts for guns and machine guns, dating from the French occupation, prove, as is frequently the case in the East, that the ancient military leader had a strong sense for tactical as well as strategical positions which have been considered of importance in all ages. Along the highways at regular distances there are wells, with basins for watering the animals (Fig. 54). Everywhere I saw great activity in tilling the soil, and the most modest farm was equipped with modern agricultural implements, and often with trucks or tractors.

On June 19 we left Adana very early in the morning, crossing the long Seyhan bridge (Fig. 55) and then turning northeast. We soon reached the spurs of the Taurus ranges and followed an old highway.

These foothills are very rocky and covered with all manner of shrubs. After a few hours we descended to the plain, which in some places is swampy. Not far from the village of Topalar we passed a large *hüyük* (about 300×300×10 meters), and I counted three others situated at the border of the plain. Toward noon we reached Sis, now Khozan. There is very little left of the glory of this city, once important in the kingdom of Lesser Armenia as seat of an independent catholicos. On a large cliff, towering over the modern town and visible far from the

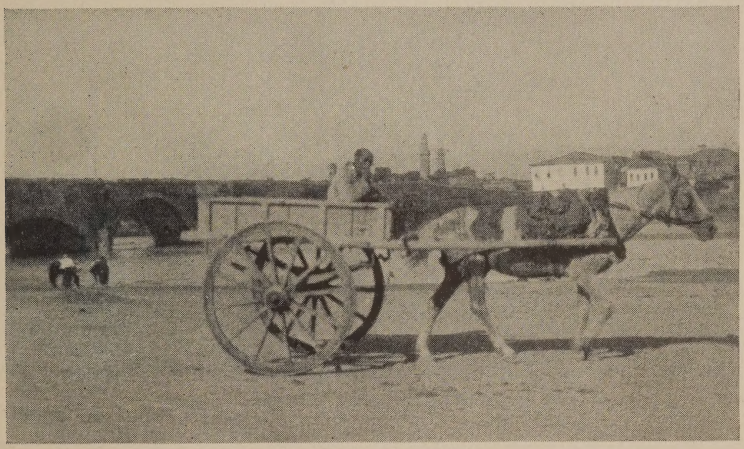


FIG. 55.—The bridge over the Seyhan at Adana. The vehicle in foreground is typical for the Adana plain.

plain, are the remains of a fine fortress (Fig. 56) guarding an old highway which enters the mountains here and leads northward to Hajin.

From Sis we again turned southward. The villages of this plain (e.g., Eshekji, Fig. 57) are very different from the usual Anatolian type. With their peaked, straw-thatched roofs, they closely resemble Magyar villages. I wanted to reach the highway to Gaziayntap by following the eastern border of the plain, but there was no point at which we could cross the Sombas Chai or the Jeyhan itself. Only at Misis could we get across the river over the great stone bridge (Fig. 58). Shortly before reaching it, we had passed the picturesque medieval fortress called Yilan Kaleh (Fig. 59). At the river bank a crowd was congregated, and a few small boats were rowing out into

the stream. Upon inquiring as to the trouble, we were shown the body of a man floating on the Jeyhan—in all probability a bandit killed in a recent engagement with the gendarmery.

From Misis we proceeded toward Jeyhan, a *kaza* and a very prosperous town. Its narrow streets were filled with camel and donkey

FIG. 56.—The fortress of Sis (now Khozan)

FIG. 57.—Eshekji

caravans, as well as overloaded trucks and *hammals*. The capacity of a truck in Anatolia is unlimited. I saw an old Ford truck on a highly dangerous road carrying eighteen people with their baggage and bedding, and still the driver took on three more. We passed a wedding

procession consisting of five cars gaudily decorated with rugs, flowers, and ribbons. Near Jeyhan, the river Jeyhan enters the defile which it leaves at Misis. A number of *hüyüks* are situated in the vicinity; I counted seven.

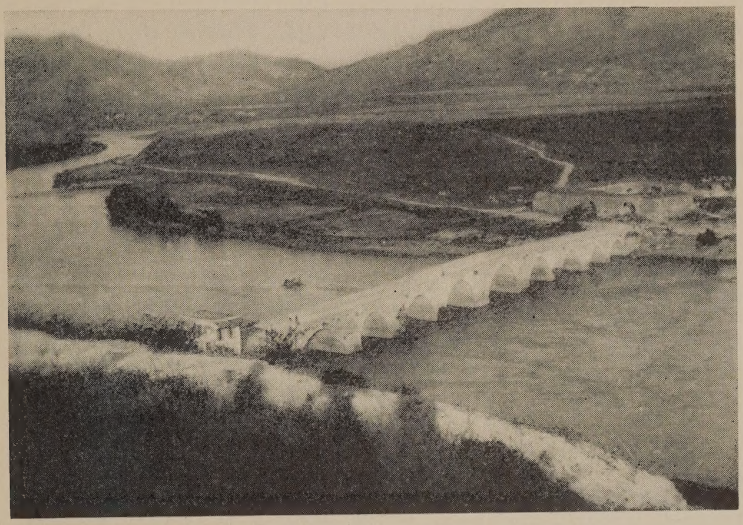


FIG. 58.—The bridge over the Jeyhan at Misis

FIG. 59.—Yilan Kaleh

We passed Toprak Kaleh, situated on a detached cliff not far from the ruins of an ancient city guarding the north entrance of the Amanian Gate. The plain then slowly rises toward the high mountain chains of the Giaur Dagh, all covered with pine woods. Shortly beyond Os-

manyeh we began to ascend in countless steep hairpin curves. On both sides of the road are to be seen many remains of forts and guard-houses, especially from more recent times. The Giaur Dagh gives the impression of being one large mass of rock densely covered by woods (Fig. 60). Only a few small depressions and valleys are large enough to afford space for cultivation or pasture land. Most of the villages we passed were four-fifths in ruins, concrete proof of the fighting during the World War. Patrols of gendarmes at regular intervals, and small gendarmery stations, reminded us of the proximity of the North Syrian frontier. With great difficulty the Turkish government has prac-

FIG. 60.—The road across the Giaur Dagh

tically succeeded in clearing this territory of bandits, though an occasional brigand still drifts over the boundary.

In the late afternoon we reached the other edge of the mountain mass. Far below us extended a long but narrow plain, flat and table-like, some 5 kilometers broad, bounded on the east by the Kürd Dagh, another parallel mountain barrier. At the foot of the mountain we saw Keller (Fig. 61), now Fevzi Pasha, its large construction camp and barracks looking like small match boxes, while the setting sun made the railroad tracks glitter like slender incandescent wires. We could distinguish a few small wartlike elevations in the plain—*hüyüks*. One of them was the famous Senjirli, the capital of the ancient principality

of Samal. Like an enormous white serpent, the road wound down to Keller. This is the station where the new railroad to the north—Maraş-Malatya-Elaziz-Diyarbekir—branches off, and the construction companies still use it as a base. Driving slowly through the town in quest of rest quarters, we were suddenly hailed from a small coffee house, and were astonished to see Mr. Hruby, who had helped us establish our camp at Alishar in 1927. We spent the evening and night as his guests.

On the following day we went into the particular valley where Senjirli is situated, near the foothills of the Giaur Dagh. I was surprised

FIG. 61.—The descent toward Keller

at its slight elevation and at the relative smallness of the citadel hill which has yielded so many important sculptures.[1] The excavation, deserted for almost twenty years, is in very good condition, and the careful and systematic work done can still be recognized. Only a large basalt base, richly decorated, remains on the spot (Fig. 62). Such other sculptures as had not been transferred to İstanbul or Berlin had been carried off by the French troops to Aleppo. The *mukhtar* of the village, whose father had been the overseer for the German excavators,

[1] K. Museen zu Berlin, "Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen," Hefte 11–14: Orient-Comité, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, Vols. I–IV (Berlin, 1893–1911).

took a marked pride in the preservation of the site, and its present condition is indeed a compliment to the villagers.

Mr. Hruby also took me to a small mound, Panjarli Hüyük, 1 kilometer from the village, where the natives had discovered a batch of sculptures while plowing. One is a basalt slab of the second style of Senjirli, which shows, from the thighs upward, the figure of a bearded man wearing a round cap, a short-sleeved tunic, and a tight belt with a tassel at the front (Fig. 63). In one hand he holds a lion; with the other

FIG. 62.—Senjirli

he swings a double ax. He wears at his left side a long sword. His hair is braided into a pigtail. Under his right sleeve there appears a spiral which may be a second pigtail. A fragment of a second sculptured slab, showing the lower part of a human figure wearing a short skirt and a tight belt with tassels, seems to belong to the first period of Senjirli. A third stone, partly buried by other stones, shows the face of a lion in high relief. I am convinced that many of the blocks and slabs scattered about in the hole are sculptured, but I did not have the facilities for having them dug out and upturned.

In this particular valley I saw several other mounds previously

mentioned by R. Koldewey. The plain of Senjirli belongs to a series of plains, connected by smaller or larger valleys bordered by high, abruptly ascending mountains, extending from the Orontes valley

FIG. 63.—The relief sculpture from Panjarli Hüyük

northward nearly to the springs of the Ak Su, a large stream which joins the Jeyhan not far from Maraş. All these plains are very fertile and richly watered, suitable for rice plantations.

From the south end of the Senjirli plain a depression leads toward the large plain at the south of which the Orontes flows and el-Bahra (Bahrat Antakiyeh) is situated. To the northeast, on a higher level, extends the plain of Sakche Gözü, whence a depression leads northward into the Sheker Ovasi and the Giaur Göl. Here the Ilgin Su

FIG. 64.—The Kürd Dagh, along which passes the road between Senjirli and Gaziayntap.

emerges to join the Ak Su, which flows through the Chakal Ovasi, at the northern end of which lies Maraş. This valley is connected by the valley of the Ak Su with the Pazarjik Ovasi, and the latter plain, in its turn, through the Ak Su valley, with still another plain watered by three lakes.

From the Senjirli plain, which in places is too swampy for any agriculture (during winter and spring it is a shallow lake), we reached, over a small grade, the plain of Sakche Gözü. The town itself is now called Keferdiz. From the road, partly dynamited into the slope of the mountain (Fig. 64), one has a marvelous view down into the valley, where six *hüyüks* can be distinguished. Near the largest one,

Sonrus Hüyük, is a very small but important-looking mound, Jabba Hüyük, which covers the remains of the palace excavated by Garstang.[1] The reliefs, however, were covered up, so that all the labor expended in getting our car through irrigation ditches and wheat fields went for nought (Fig. 65). The wheat stands as high as 1.55 meters.

Noticeable throughout this region is the complete absence of field roads; only narrow paths connect the villages with one another. No *arabas* are used here, almost everything being transported on donkeys

FIG. 65.—The Sheker Ovasi around Sakche Gözü

and mules. Once having reached the height of the Kürd Dagh, the road continues fairly level. The trees and shrubs gradually cease, and the slopes and plateaus become arid. The few valleys or depressions that lend themselves to agriculture are covered to the last square inch with wheat fields, pistachio groves, and olive trees. Small vineyards are frequent. The landscape is most paradoxical. For several kilometers one drives through utterly bare, rocky country, then suddenly finds himself in a small valley which is a veritable bower of greenery.

[1] "Excavations at Sakje-Geuzi, in North Syria: Preliminary Report for 1908," in the Liverpool *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (hereafter abbreviated to *LAAA*), I (1908), 97–117.

The village resembles a small fortress. The houses, consisting of several stories, are built closely together. Each one of them can be easily defended, and could, before the introduction of modern high explosives, effectively hold up advances or drive back attacks.

Ayntap, now Gaziayntap, is situated at the eastern border of a plateau through which the Sajur flows. Shortly before descending to it, one passes a stretch of limestone formation. Were it not for the burning heat, one could imagine one's self in a landscape of snow (Fig. 66). The approach to the city is imposing. It extends saddlewise between two higher elevations. On the eastern one stands the citadel,

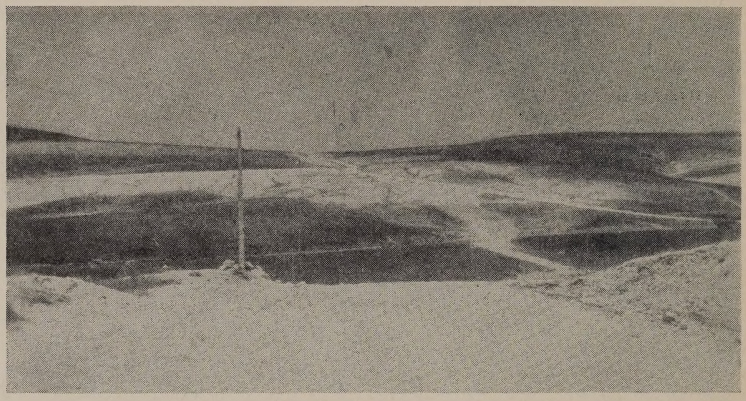


FIG. 66.—Limestone formations near Gaziayntap

and on the western the remains of the American College; still farther south in the plain appears a large *hüyük*. The city suffered greatly in the World War, and everywhere are to be seen the holes made by grenades and shrapnel. We arrived there on Friday evening and found quarters in a very clean *han*. The usual domestic pests were absent, but as a substitute there were legions of mosquitoes. After the heat of the day, we cooled off under large trees in the city park. The youth of Gaziayntap parade along the main street and through the large cemetery. All the women here are still deeply veiled and appear only in groups. The contrast between the mothers, gowned in black and wearing heavy veils, and their children, girls of twelve or thirteen years, in Western dresses, gay, short, and sleeveless, is striking.

Later in the evening we went to the "theater." Nearly every large town has a *teatro*. In the park there are small stages, on which are seated at tables all the men and girls of the *kumpanya*, singing and playing the violin, the flute, two different kinds of guitars, the *ud*, and tambourines. The music continues for several hours.

For the second part of the program, the men descend from the stage and seat themselves facing it with their instruments. Then on the stage appears a girl heavily made up, especially about the eyes, and wearing an ultra-modern evening dress. She first dances to the music, then renders a song. After each verse she stops, and during the pause in the music she goes to one side of the stage, turns her back to the public, and holds one hand to her ear. After a few seconds, she again proceeds to dance and continues with her recital. At the conclusion of the song she dances more elaborately, and, if capable of doing so, she renders several variations of belly dances. Hüssein, who seemed to be a connoisseur of dancing, told me that not all of the girls could dance. Furthermore, he said, a Turkish girl would not be permitted to perform such dances in public; her dances were reserved for her husband. Such recitals had to be given, consequently, by Jewesses, Levantines, Armenians, and especially Rumelis.[1] He then called my attention to the vivacity of one of the girls who was a Rumeli; and I must confess that, with other music, her agility and versatility would win success on any American stage.

The third part of such *teatro*, if there is one, consists of the production of a regular play. Twice I saw excellent presentations, but nearly every time the tragic and well-played first act is ruined by a stupid comedy in the second. A subject highly appreciated, and sometimes prolonged for forty-five minutes, is that of the stupid comedian left alone with a corpse. As soon as he is alone with it, the corpse begins to move and forces him to dance or make other ridiculous gestures. Finally, when he calls for aid, the corpse resumes its harmless attitude; but when the man who was summoned departs, the same performance is begun again, to be repeated many times.

The next morning I went to present my credentials to the governor general (the *vali*) and the director of public instruction (the *marif müdürü*). The organization in all the border *vilayets* is very strict, and

[1] Bulgarians from Eastern Rumelia.

all the officials are chosen especially for their ability and efficiency. Neşet Zütü Bey, the *marif müdürü*, as well as His Excellency the *vali*, was very amiable and interested in my research. Ali Riza Bey, an inspector, was assigned as my companion, and in the afternoon we proceeded eastward together. Before that I had visited the little museum where Ali Riza and Neşet Zütü had assembled all the smaller antiquities of the neighborhood. It was here and in Maraş that I found the most interesting and systematic work being done for the preservation of antiquities.

We drove eastward along a new road (Map V).[1] The highway for the most part followed valleys bordered by rocky or sandy slopes. But with the valleys appeared well-cared-for olive and pistachio groves. On the way to Nizib I noticed two *hüyüks* (Fig. 67). Here we were supposed to remain overnight as guests of the director of the public school. Nizib is an exceedingly clean town, and the people are very courteous, all of which can be ascribed to the energy and ability of the high officials of this province. All the minor officials as well are remarkably polite and efficient. From here I made an excursion northeastward the same evening to Belkis, on the bank of the Euphrates. On the way to Belkis the soil gradually becomes more sterile, until one eventually finds one's self in a dry and bare limestone formation.

Belkis (Fig. 68) is a round, very high, natural hill. After climbing its very steep slopes, we looked out over the Euphrates valley and on the territory east and west of it. I counted eight *hüyüks*. Around the top of Belkis could still be seen the traces of an outer defense wall and a large cistern cut into the living rock. Many late classical sculptures taken to various museums have been found here. On a terrace a little below, I noticed two large rocks. Closer examination showed that they were fragments of a colossal seated figure of a man, from which the head had disappeared (Figs. 69 and 70). The diameter of the neck was 55 centimeters. The Belkis hill would have been an ideal place for just such a colossal monument of a deity protecting or blessing this territory. We spent the night as guests of the director, which would

[1] The abundance of ancient mounds in this region has been frequently mentioned by previous travelers, e.g., E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig, 1883), pp. 161–80, and D. G. Hogarth, "Carchemish and Its Neighbourhood," *LAAA*, II (1909), 165–84.

THE REGION EAST OF GAZIAYNTAP

have been very agreeable except for the hosts of *sivri sineks*—the dreaded mosquitoes.

With daybreak we were again on our way toward the east. Nizib itself is surrounded by gardens and pistachio groves (Fig. 71). Within

FIG. 67.—The *hüyük* at Türlü

the large town is a *hüyük*. Along the 9-kilometer road to Birejik I noticed four *hüyüks*, three of which I investigated. Beyond the village of Tilmen, there is a cistern hewn into the living rock (Fig. 72). As on the road to Belkis, the nearer the river, the more desert-like the surroundings become. Only directly along the river bank is there a strip of fertile soil.

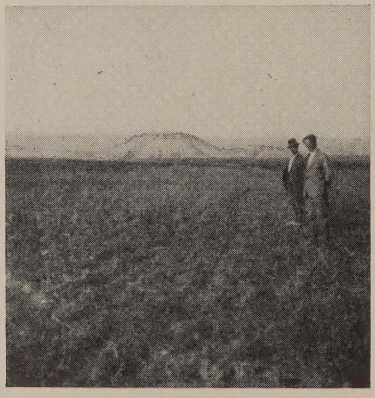


FIG. 68.—Belkis

Birejik is situated on the east side of the Euphrates. We did not go over. The eastern bank of the river drops rather steeply. In its slope I noticed several caves. From here we turned southward in order to reach Jerablus. The small villages through which we passed seemed to be very poor, the population consisting largely of Kurds and Arabs. The women of this region are elaborately tattooed on both hands and

face. Most of the natives, moreover, are badly marred by the Aleppo boil or the scars which it leaves behind. The Aleppo boil (*Furuncolosis*

FIG. 69.—The statue fragments at Belkis

FIG. 70.—A detail of the larger fragment at Belkis

orientalis) is acquired through the bite of a fly, the parasite as yet being unknown. The insect seems, however, to give preference to the cheek bones, and the boil lingers for a year, leaving in its wake a large scar. Scars on both cheeks are common to the majority of the population, but in spite of this the women here are considered particularly beautiful. A large percentage of the population suffers also from trachoma, and many are blind. Their water, yellowish and salty, is taken

FIG. 71.—Nizib, with a pistachio grove in foreground

from deep wells. Near many hamlets I inspected *hüyüks*, and I observed that on the opposite bank there was sometimes a corresponding one.

At Kirgis we were told that the natives had found two weeks previously a black stone with the relief of a man. The description fitted the common representation of a Hittite god; but when we began to inquire further into its whereabouts, many conflicting stories were told to us. It transpired eventually that part of it had been used in the construction of a mill, most of it being crushed for gravel. All effort expended to retrieve pieces of the sculpture proved fruitless. Shortly before reaching the village we had passed the Chavat Su and in its

south bank, vertical and rocky, had recognized four rectangular caves.

Toward noon we reached Jerablus. The frontier between Turkey and the North Syrian mandate lies 3 meters south of the Baghdad railroad tracks, leaving the roadbed and the station in Turkish territory. The Turks have here only a small number of troops and gendarmes, whereas the Syrians have all manner of militia, French troops, police, and gendarmery. The sartorial variety to be seen at the station

FIG. 72.—The cistern near Tilmen

is very interesting—Turkish subjects wearing diverse odd Western headdresses, Syrian subjects wearing the fez, and the Beduin their picturesque costume.

The formalities being disposed of, I received permission to visit the site of old Carchemish. The excavation here is in good condition, and the diligence and skill of Mr. Woolley are still evident.[1] Several sculptures are well preserved (Figs. 73–75), although there are many, especially those with smaller figures and inscriptions, that have been

[1] See *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Djerabis on Behalf of the British Museum*, Parts I–II (1914–21).

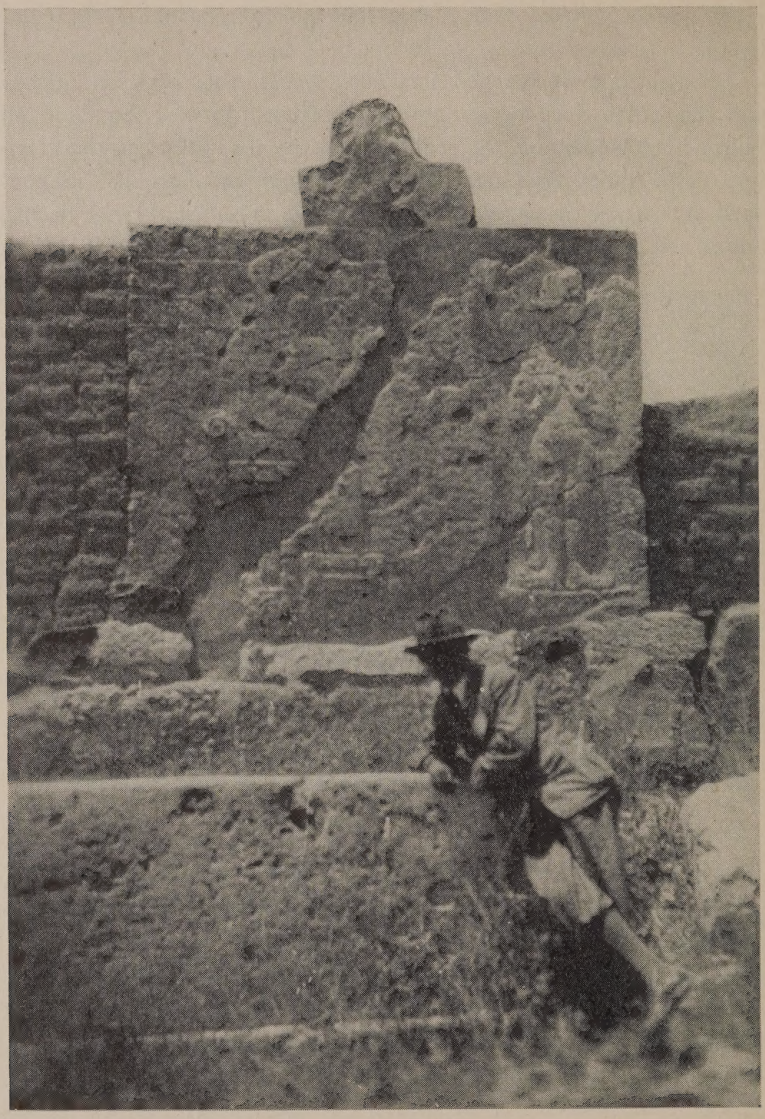


FIG. 73.—Sculptures at Carchemish

barbarously mutilated by the chipping off of faces to sell. Moreover, solely as the result of an impulse toward ruthless destruction, some large lions have been smashed and broken. It is a disgusting spectacle; and it is gratifying to know that the Turkish government now stations a number of watchmen at the site to prevent nocturnal looting and smuggling over the frontier to Aleppo, where several valuable fragments are for sale. The imposing citadel of Carchemish is situated on the west bank of the Euphrates, which is spanned here by a new railroad bridge. I inquired here for Baron von Oppenheim, who I knew was excavating again at Tell Halaf,[1] 45 kilometers to the east. I was told that he had passed the day before on his way to Aleppo. On the way back to Gaziayntap we followed the railway, i.e., the boundary, as far as Akche Koyunlu on the Sajur, and from there a highway to Gaziayntap.

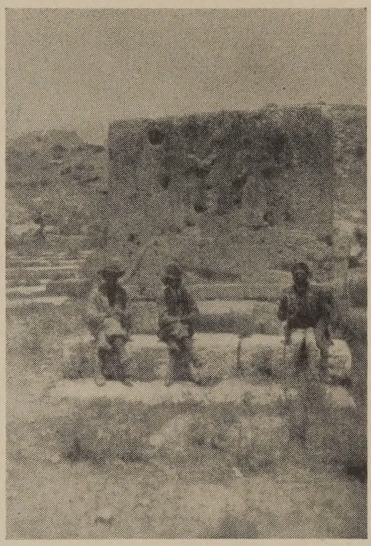


FIG. 74.—Sculptures at Carchemish

Of the many mounds—here called *til*, probably a Turkization of the Arabic *tell*—the most imposing was Til Bashar (Figs. 76 and 77).[2] Toward it runs an old paved road which enters the city inclosure, much the same as at Jerablus. The city itself consists of an oval surrounded by a wall (approximately 750×800 meters), with a citadel about 16 meters high and 75×250 meters in area. From the top of the citadel several groups of buildings can be distinguished within the inclosure, and on the citadel itself the remains of a gate construction. But neither on the site nor in the surrounding villages could I find a sculptured slab.

[1] For his report on his earlier work here, see *Der alte Orient*, X (1908), 1–44.

[2] Cf. Sachau, *op. cit.*, pp. 163–65, and Hogarth, *op. cit.*, pp. 174–76.

FIG. 75.—Sculptures at Carchemish. Slabs of dark and of light stone alternate in the wall-covering.

FIG. 76.—The citadel of Til Bashar

The village of Sasgun, on the road to Gaziayntap, is built on a large *hüyük*. Houses of two and three stories, compactly grouped, form a regular defense wall. Into the village occupying the top of the mound

FIG. 77.—View from Til Bashar over the ancient city. A gateway through its wall appears in center.

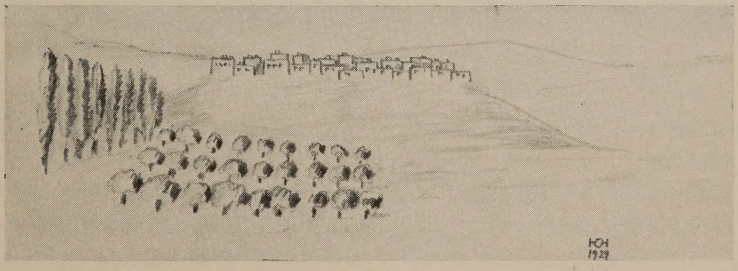


FIG. 78.—Sasgun, with a pistachio grove in foreground

lead three small passageways between houses. None of the houses have windows to the outside in the first two floors. Unfortunately, the film pack with the picture of this village was among those which were

destroyed in the accident at Kangal, so I have only a sketch of it (Fig. 78).

Gaziayntap was reached late in the evening. In two days I had seen forty-eight mounds, thirty-two of which I had investigated (Figs. 79 and 80). The citadel of Gaziayntap, which I visited the next morning, is built on a mound the slopes of which are paved all around, as at Aleppo and other North Syrian sites. It has a large postern and is very efficiently arranged for defense. It seems to me that a monograph

FIG. 79.—Silsileh Hüyük

dealing with all these fortresses of early Moslem origin would be well worth while.

Maraş was our next goal. A little before noon we left Gaziayntap, following the road by which we had come until we reached a highway that branched off northward. Ascending slowly, we crossed a plateau distinguished by many picturesque rock formations, all of which proved on closer investigation to be natural. The farther up we went, the thicker the scrub became; eventually there appeared even clumps of pines and oaks. Abruptly the mountain ended. Before us lay the Pazarjik Ovasi, and behind us an extension of a high mountain chain

coming from the east. A still higher one, the Eyr Dagh, could be plainly distinguished in the north, forming the north wall of the Chakal Ovasi, on the spurs of which lies Maraş. The imposing formation of the Daz Dagh forms the western wall.

The descent was rapid. On the way down I saw several mounds scattered in the plain but, characteristically, near the mountain slopes. We crossed the Ak Su over a long wooden bridge which was in a perilous state of decay. After we were halfway across, we observed that

FIG. 80.—Yuna Hüyük, with Turkish cemetery in foreground

all the traffic, even donkey caravans, was fording the river farther down stream. The railroad from Keller to Malatya is finished to this point, with the exception of the wooden bridges, which are now being replaced by iron ones. After we had passed the above-mentioned extension, with a depression in its center, we entered the actual Chakal Ovasi, through which flow two important tributaries of the Ak Su—the Kara Su and the Erkenes Su. The whole plain looked like a swamp carpeted with a particularly fine, light green grass. I soon realized that it was covered with rice plantations.

I did not investigate the mounds as we passed, since I had planned

to remain in Maraş for a few days. As we entered the place, its citadel, perched on the slope of the mountain (Fig. 81), was gleaming in the setting sun. On the train from Berlin to İstanbul I had met a Dr. Pfeiffer, an entomologist, and a young painter from Munich, who had been coming to Maraş for several years and knew the surroundings very well. Both gentlemen kindly offered to guide me. The only *han*,

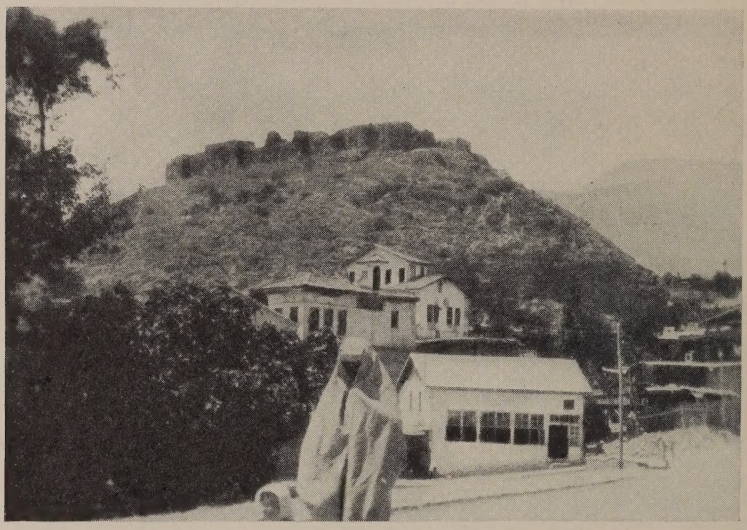


FIG. 81.—The citadel of Maraş

or, as it called itself, Yeni Oteli ("new hotel"), was situated at the foot of one of the spurs on which Maraş is built. Mosquitoes were present in millions, while the humidity of the swampy plain was most disagreeable. Feeling some qualms about stopping here, I went to the *marif müdürü*, Neşet Zütü Bey, for advice. As in Gaziayntap, I was received with great cordiality, and arrangements were made for my accommodation in the *yat mektebe* ("boarding-school"), now deserted because of vacation. Here the pupils are housed in large, clean rooms. During the next few days I had ample occasion to observe the tireless efficiency of Neşet Zütü Bey in organizing and improving the schools of this *vilayet*.

The next morning I went up to the former German mission, now a

kind of hotel managed by two ladies of the sect which originally erected it. All the engineers of the construction companies and visiting higher Turkish officials live here. I found Dr. Pfeiffer, who was good enough to present me to Mehmet Nihat Bey, the manager of the rice factory. During my stay in Maraş, Neşet Zütü Bey and Mehmet Nihat Bey proved to be most charming companions. Their assistance, too, was invaluable, because of their serious interest in ancient monuments (Fig. 82). Every day while I was in Maraş they accompanied me

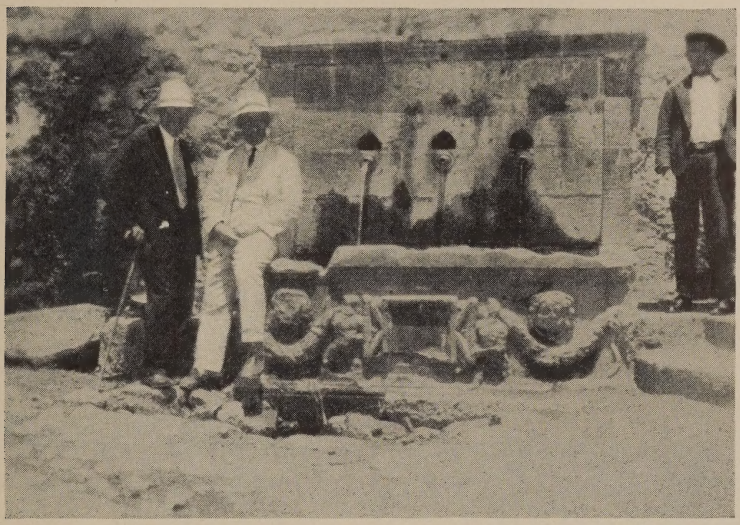
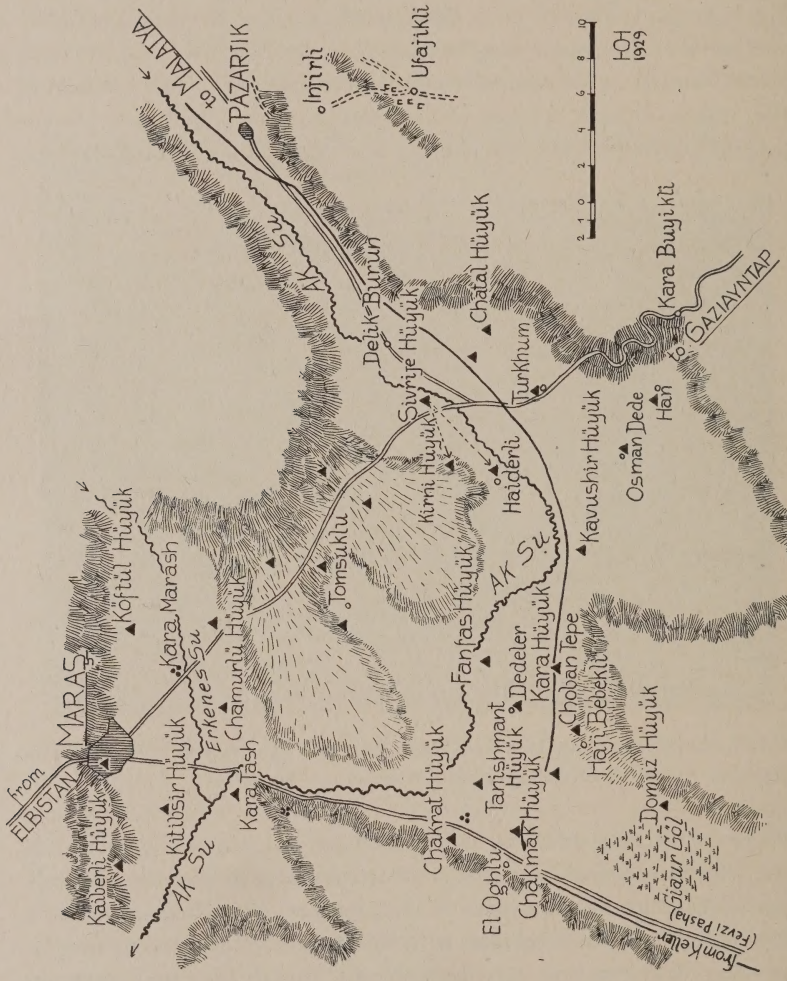


FIG. 82.—Neşet Zütü Bey and Mehmet Nihat Bey beside a Roman sarcophagus re-used as a fountain basin at Maraş.

in the car, on horseback, or in climbing the mountains. Mehmet Nihat, who had studied in Berlin, is the inaugurator of scientific rice culture here. When he first came to the province, a few years ago, there was rice under cultivation; but with the antiquated machinery then in use very little rice was produced. Now, through his progressive activity, every modern device has been installed and almost the entire plain is being cultivated. He was kind enough to present me to His Excellency the *vali*, who in turn instructed the gendarmery to assist me in every way possible.

The next four days I spent investigating the city and the plain (Map VI). I was sorry when it was necessary to leave, as the region proved



MAP VI

THE REGION SOUTH OF MARAŞ

to be extraordinarily interesting. I wished, however, to reach Ankara in time to meet Professor Sprengling there on July 8. But *kismet* willed that I should be marooned for twelve days in the less interesting valley

of Elbistan, three days' distance by horseback from Maraş, with no possibility of advancing.

Among the first sculptures attributed to the Hittites were several found at Maraş.[1] They included some bas-reliefs and a lion; and I had come here to locate, if possible, the place from which they had been taken. It appears, however, that the point cannot be definitely settled before excavations have been undertaken at several sites. East of the city lies a valley called Kirk Göz Chesme ("spring of the forty eyes"); but there are many more "eyes," the place being a truly remarkable sight. The water supply of the city comes from here, and it is one of the places where reliefs are said to have been found. The few remains visible without excavating appeared to be pre-Roman. Another reputed source of antiquities is behind the government building. Close examination here disclosed quantities of potsherds, obsidian chips, and small knives. Two natives said that they had themselves dug up two reliefs. A third place is the citadel. I have no doubt that it stands on a *hüyük*. The rich and elaborate folklore of Maraş relates that Alla-üt-Devle, a Turkish prince who ruled Maraş at the end of the fifteenth century, caused all antiquities within the city to be collected and buried in the citadel mound.

Maraş, the capital of the surrounding territory, has always been a more or less independent city; and the power of its *dere bey*, as the Turkish feudal lord is called, has been definitely broken only by the present government. Soon after the Osmanlis came to Asia Minor, a chieftain of the Zül Kadir family assumed power in Maraş, and he and his followers for nearly three hundred years governed a large part of southeastern Asia Minor. A rival family finally succeeded in overthrowing them and assuming the leadership. These opposing factions generally encountered each other at an old bridge spanning a deep gorge which divided the city. That site has, consequently, come to be known as Kanli Köprü ("bloody bridge")! In wandering through the city with Nihat Bey, I located five more "Hittite" reliefs (Figs. 83–87; cf. p. 175); and with the assistance of Neşet Zütü Bey we started a little museum in the Sakaria *mekteb*.

[1] On previously known sculptures from here, see von der Osten, "Four Sculptures from Marash," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, II (1929), 112–32.

I devoted most of my time to exploring the valley, where I located no less than twenty-three *hüyüks*. I was told on visiting the Choban

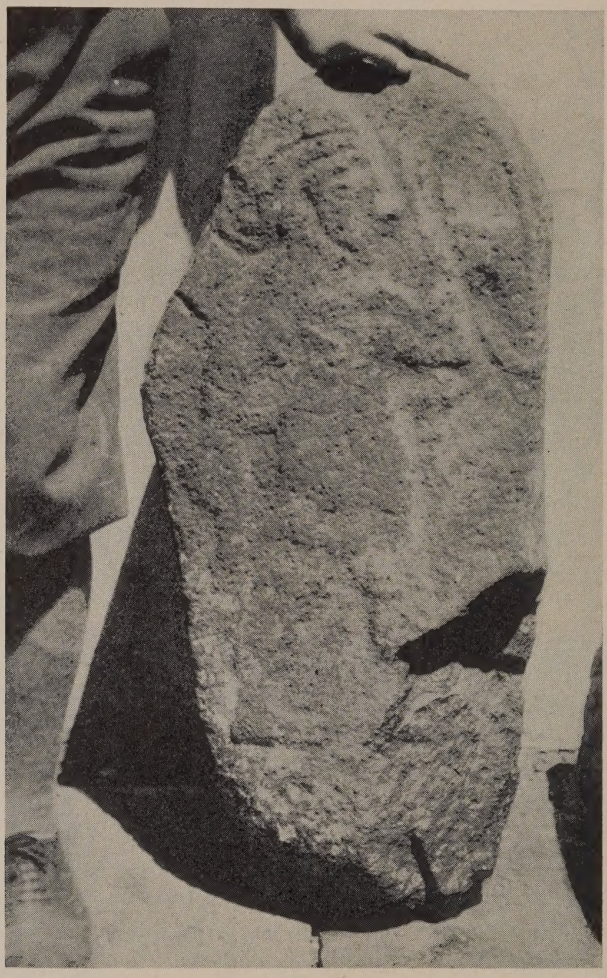


FIG. 83.—Sculpture recently discovered at Maraş

Tepe that the large royal stela discovered by Garstang[1] (Fig. 88) had been carried off to Maraş. After much questioning, we were told that it had been carried *toward* Maras and dumped in the swampy plain.

[1] "A New Royal Hittite Monument from near Marash in Northern Syria." *LAAA*, IV (1912), 126–27.

In the Maraş valley an automobile can be used on two main roads only. Elsewhere, innumerable irrigation ditches and swamps make it

FIG. 84.—Sculpture recently discovered at Maraş

FIG. 85.—Sculpture recently discovered at Maraş

impossible. From El Oghlu we borrowed a hand car and went to a Turkoman camp (Fig. 89) near the village of Haji Bebekli, where we procured horses and started for the swamp. It was surprising to see the horses go through it. After three hours' search we finally succeeded in finding the large block, to which I applied squeeze paper. We then returned to the city. The next day, with Nihat Bey, I went back to the swamp by another road. The squeeze, which turned out very well, shows the subject quite clearly. A king with a winged disk above his head, and holding a hare, stands on an animal.

FIG. 86.—Sculpture recently discovered at Maraş

Not very far from the road to El Oghlu I inspected a small elevation and discovered in a few places Roman pottery. A native working in a near-by rice field approached and, after inquiring as to what I was looking for, conducted me to a spot where there were countless black and white stones, small and square. He then scratched the earth a little, and some remains of a mosaic could be seen. He told me that he and a few of his friends had once made a hole in a near-by *hüyük* and had found therein a large vessel with a skeleton and some bronze objects, but that not finding gold they had become furious and smashed everything.

While on horseback excursions, I observed the costumes and fea-

tures of the natives. During the summer they live, like the Kurds, in large tents. In a small lateral valley of the Düldül Dagh complex, I was astonished to find a few villages where the natives wore almost exactly the same garments as are represented on Hittite sculptures.

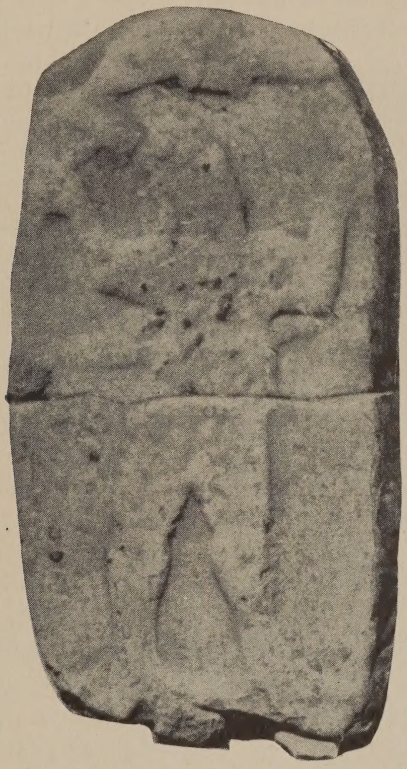


FIG. 87.—Sculpture recently discovered at Maraş

Parts of such costumes are, of course, distributed through the whole of Asia Minor.

The women (Fig. 90) wore high cylindrical headdresses with long veils falling to the ankles. Their boots had upturned toes, the tops being each decorated in front with a tassel. But more interesting were the garments of the men (Fig. 91). There is first the conical cap, found in every size from a skull cap to a cap 30 centimeters high and

often bulbous at the top instead of ending in a point. A similarly shaped headdress appears in most of the Hittite sculptures. Scholarly opinions have differed greatly as to whether it was originally made of leather or of metal. The modern caps are of crocheted wool. Another characteristic of Hittite sculptures of men is a tight belt with fringe hanging down at the front, but no clasp. In many parts of eastern Asia Minor one finds natives wearing belts 10–20 centimeters wide and 2 meters long, with ornaments woven in and fringe at both ends. They are wound around the waist in such fashion that the fringe of one end appears in front while the fringe of the other end is tucked underneath the belt. Shoes with upturned toes are common throughout Asia Minor; but, except in the mountains west of Maraş and around Gaziayntap, I have not seen a particular type of high boot with a top consisting of two parts and attached to the leg with leather thongs. Most startling of all are the short-sleeved tunics, reaching to the knees, of finely woven *kelim* decorated with various geometric designs. In a few cases I saw men here wearing large silver bracelets which might have been actually copied from Assyrian reliefs. Furthermore, except here, I have never seen Anatolians with short trousers, though I have been told that they are worn in western Asia Minor.

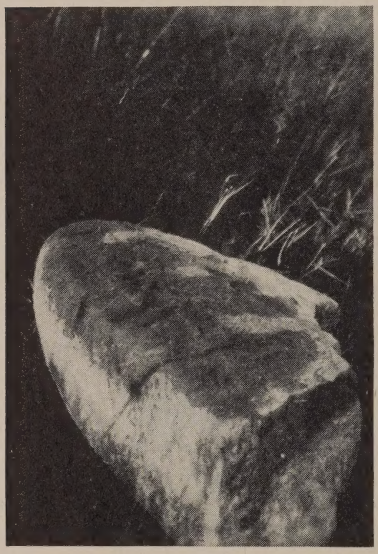


FIG. 88.—The "royal" stela from Choban Tepe.

It has heretofore been believed that the features of the modern Armenian most closely resembled the ancient Hittite. But here in the surroundings of Maraş I found people resembling them much more closely (Fig. 92) and wearing their hair in much the same fashion as in the reliefs, i.e., in up-curled knots. It is not impossible that there exists here a very interesting survival of the Hittites. It may prove very

much worth while to investigate thoroughly these people and their language.

FIG. 89.—Turkoman camp near Haji Bebekli

FIG. 90.—Costumes at Haji Bebekli

I made the last excursion from Maraş with Neşet Zütü Bey and Nihat Bey. We went to Ufajikli. The car brought us as far as Pazarjik, where we stayed over night in the valley of the Ak Su. Here we took horses early in the morning to go into the mountain ranges south of the town. The slopes are extremely rocky, and it is surprising how densely they are covered with trees and scrub, especially with pistachios and olives (Fig. 93). After six hours of steady climbing we reached the height and saw in the middle of a depression the village of Ufajikli.

FIG. 91.—A type of man's costume worn in the Maraş plain.

FIG. 92.—A native of the Maraş plain.

Around it, hewn into the native rock, are numberless rock tombs (Fig. 94), some of them very elaborately planned and some decorated inside with reliefs. I investigated three thoroughly. This was a difficult task, as they were literally alive with mosquitoes and

snakes, the former making work next to impossible. Since we could not persuade any of the villagers to help us, we three made a rapid

FIG. 93.—On the road to Ufajikli

FIG. 94.—A rock tomb at Ufajikli

plan and survey of them. One of the three tombs is sketched in Figure 95. In very few minutes our faces and hands were swollen beyond recognition by mosquito bites. Future work here will be greatly facilitated by first injecting a liberal quantity of Flit. In the larger tombs sarcophagi are cut out of the living rock. All of the pictorial decorations had obviously been patterned after classical models, but executed in a particularly primitive way (Fig. 96).

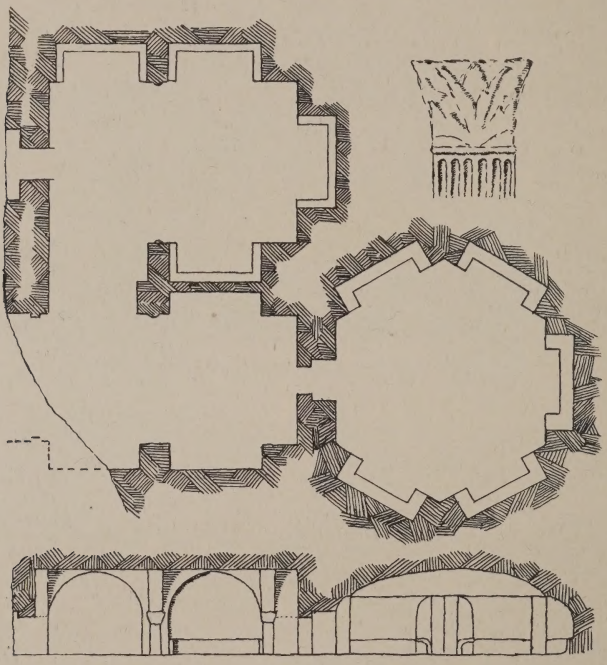


FIG. 95.—Another rock tomb at Ufajikli. Plan and section, 1:200

Closer investigation around Ufajikli showed that here was a junction of three ancient roads, each of which could be followed for a considerable distance. On our way back, for example, we followed one (Fig. 97) until we reached Pazarjik, whence it probably continues to Maras, while a second leads to Gaziayntap and a third to Malatya and Ergani Maden. I had previously noted that if one inquired of a native in the vicinity of Gaziayntap or Maraş whither a road in a

FIG. 96.—Wall relief in a rock tomb at Ufajikli

FIG. 97.—An ancient road near Ufajikli

general eastern direction would lead, the answer invariably was "Ergani Maden"—the huge copper mine at the headwaters of the western Tigris, some 260 kilometers away. In Ufajikli we were guests of the school-teacher, a girl not more than twenty-two years old. It was remarkable how this young girl, in spite of local conservatism and passive resistance to modernization, had succeeded in ruling the village. Our way back was uneventful, and that same evening we reached Maraş.

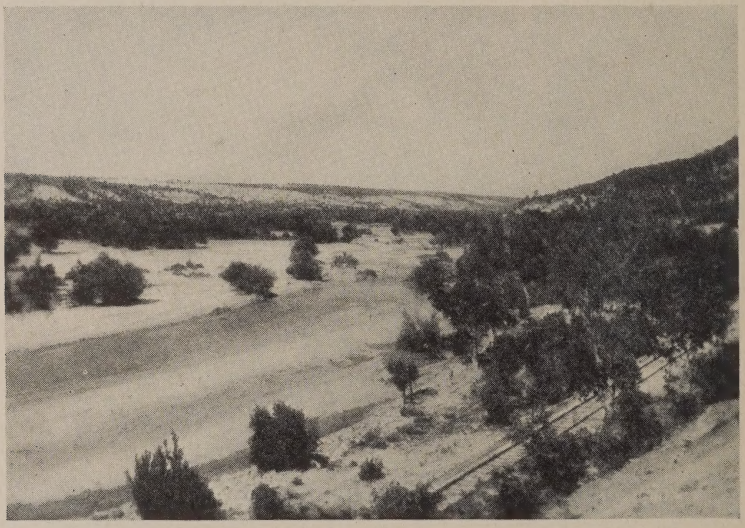


FIG. 98.—The Ak Su northeast of Pazarjik. The new railroad line appears in foreground at right.

The next morning we packed and prepared everything for our departure. Toward afternoon, having bidden farewell to all our friends, we left for the plain of Elbistan. Now there is as yet no direct road thither on which even a Ford may venture, and as my time was very limited I could not think of going on horseback. I had decided, therefore, to try to reach Elbistan via Malatya, Kangal, and Gürün, investigating on the way the territory between Maraş and Malatya. The road was known to us as far as Pazarjik. From there we followed the railroad along the Ak Su. For several kilometers the valley is just wide enough to hold the broad river bed (Fig. 98). Then it widens to

a large and fertile plain, bordered on the west by the imposing snow-covered ranges of the Kanli Dagh. In this valley of the Ak Su are three lakes. I noticed only one ancient settlement, near the third lake —Göl Bashi (Fig. 99). Incidentally, up to this point the railroad is already completed.

A little beyond the Göl Bashi we turned northward at right angles and, after crossing a low range, the watershed between the Euphrates and the Jeyhan, entered the gorge called Kapu Deressi. The new railroad will follow this gorge, which is often little wider than the

FIG. 99.—Göl Bashi

torrent of the Gök Su itself, for more than 100 kilometers between the towering heights of Meidan (1,900 meters) and Doruk (2,100 meters). A road has been constructed very provisionally along here to connect the various construction camps. It is just wide enough for one car, so chance pedestrians must find refuge somehow up or down the slopes. Every 2 or 3 kilometers the road has been widened to allow for the passing of two cars. Along this road overloaded trucks speed as though they were on straight concrete highways, though for the most part they cannot see ahead for more than 100 meters.

The landscape is beautiful; but inasmuch as this was our first trip over the road, we were not much disposed to enjoy it. The traffic made us nervous. Four times we were suddenly faced by a big truck

speeding around a corner; and on four other occasions, because ours was the smaller car, we backed up 1, 2, or even 3 kilometers. It was quite surprising how polite the chauffeurs were to each other on such occasions. Just the moment that they had passed each other, however, very frank opinions regarding the ability of "some" drivers were vociferously expressed, frequently culminating in the recommendation that the other fellow drive donkeys or mules, since these animals

FIG. 100.—Viran Shehir

could supply the brains which the driver lacked. As the gorge is very deep, with steep walls, the sun very seldom reaches the bottom. So it became dark there before sunset. The contrast furnished by the lofty peaks of the Meidan and the Doruk, reflecting the fire of the sky, was magnificent. We stopped for the night at the next construction camp.

On entering the Kapu Deressi, I noticed the remains of an ancient road with two old bridges. It must have been the only connection in ancient times between Maraş and Malatya. At the north end, near the village of Meidan, it is joined by a road from Elbistan. Still following the course of the Gök Su, the road runs eastward and, slowly ascending, reaches a large plateau blanketed with rich meadows. We

passed three still-inhabited ancient settlements very near to one another. The first two, Harabe Shehir and Viran Shehir (Fig. 100), show remains of city walls and gates of late classical or Byzantine times, whereas the third, Chiklik, is a *hüyük*. Soon after Chiklik the road begins to descend, following the Sultan Chai, a tributary of the Tokhma Chai. East of it an enormous mountain mass reaches to the Euphrates. This mass is, in fact, the real cause for the loop the Euphrates makes north of Malatya. West of Chiklik the valley gradually broadens, the rivers themselves forming gorges (Fig. 101).

FIG. 101.—Landscape in the Malatya plain

We reached Malatya toward noon. Here, for the first time, we heard about some bands of Kurdish brigands reported to be in the mountains north and west of Malatya. The governor general himself was not there; he had gone "on a visit" to Hekim Han. The officials were very polite, most of them remembering me from last year, but I detected that they were not particularly eager to assist in expediting my progress to Elbistan. On the street I met an acquaintance of last year, the commander of gendarmery from Egin, who desired to go to Hekim Han. I thereupon offered to take him, and he gladly accepted. I happened to tell this to the officials, and with magical swiftness my

permit was prepared. They were apprehensive of letting me go, it appeared, without an escort.

Soon after Fethiyeh (Fig. 102), where the road enters the mountains, gendarme patrols became frequent, and Hekim Han looked like a war camp. Besides gendarmery there were regular troops, while the governor general, an old officer, had personally taken charge of crushing the operations of the bandits. It is a territory ideally adapted to guerilla warfare, and I cannot but have the highest admiration for the courage and tireless energy of the Turkish troops in crushing these

FIG. 102.—Fethiyeh with its *hüyük*

bands within the short time that they did. His Excellency was very kind, and gave orders that I should be escorted to Elbistan and then out of the district by gendarmery. We stopped only twice, at Kangal and Gürün, to change our escort. As far as Gürün the road was the same as that traveled in 1928. From there we descended the Tokhma Chai valley to Derende. This valley is bordered by steep, often vertical, bare slopes. Sometimes it is broad, covered with gardens; sometimes narrow, forming picturesque gorges. Shortly before reaching Derende, we passed a most mysterious-looking rocky waste (Fig. 103) suggesting the ruins of a gigantic metropolis (Fig. 104). At its foot are to be seen ruins of a large section of Derende around an elevation in the valley (Fig. 105).

Derende itself (Fig. 106), which we reached after sunset, is very similar to Gürün, stretching out along the river for several kilometers between gardens and groves. Its center, with the government buildings, bazaars, and schools, forms a fortress accessible by only three gateways through a defense wall consisting of houses without windows or doors to the outside. It was by far the wildest town I had yet seen in Anatolia. The gate was closed and guarded by gendarmery. Travelers are rare here, and the arrival of an automobile is an important event. Although we got inside, there was no place to obtain food; and only very fluent language from Hüssein and a proffer of help from the efficient gendarmes finally secured us a resting-place. The next morning, having been assured that the road to Elbistan was excellent, "like a *chaussée*" (three months before, a truck had gone there, but had stayed there), I decided to make an excursion to Kötü Kaleh to copy, if possible, a "Hittite" hieroglyphic inscription noted by the Cornell expedition.[1]

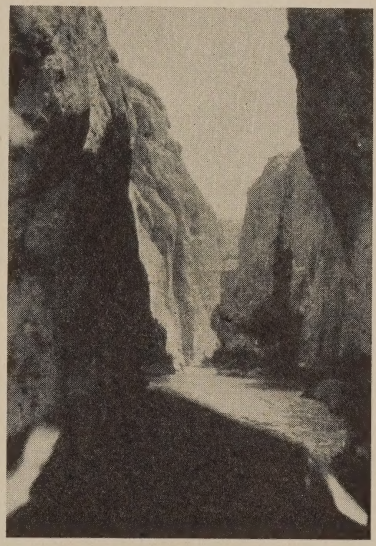


FIG. 103.—A gorge near Derende

I left Derende early with a gendarme and proceeded eastward up the arid slopes of the north bank. It is truly a desert landscape (Fig. 107). After three hours we again descended into the valley, much wider here than at Derende, covered with gardens, wheat fields, and meadows and crossed by innumerable irrigation ditches and mill races. The villages here are all built like small fortresses, around or on some small elevation. Irrigation ditches, creeks, and rivers have bridges consisting of two long beams, on which smaller beams from 1 to 1.25 meters long are laid but not fastened. Over the swiftly flowing Tokhma Chai, some 30 meters wide, such a bridge is supported on four slender

[1] *Travels and Studies in the Nearer East*, I, Part II (Ithaca, N.Y., 1911), 38–39.

FIG. 104.—Rocky landscape near Derende

FIG. 105.—Ruins near Derende

FIG. 106.—Derende

FIG. 107.—Barren slopes east of Derende

wooden piers. But horses, with their riders, and overloaded donkeys cross these fragile, swaying bridges, challenging every law of stability, and no accident occurs.

At Isbekjür (Fig. 108) the valley begins to narrow again toward the gorge. The northern wall is very high, and on the continuous cliff which forms the southern wall is situated Kötü Kaleh, the "bad castle" (Fig. 109). At its foot there is a small Kurdish village. The

FIG. 108.—Isbekjür

river here is very deep and swift. The gorge opens at each end, east and west, into a fertile valley.

On a level with the river a cave is visible, seemingly connected to another above it by a pit 8 meters high. In the lower cave is said to be the above-mentioned inscription. After discovering that the lower one could not be entered directly, I went up to the higher one (Fig. 110). But it appeared that to reach the lower cave from the higher one a rope was needed. Not having any, I went back to the village. In my absence Rustem, the gendarme, found an old man who had been in the cave and knew another way of entering it.

So with two Kurds I went around the cliff to the exit of the gorge. There, holding on to the rocks, we entered the river until the water

reached my chest. Then we climbed a nearly vertical slope to a height of about 3 meters above the water. At that level we climbed forward again, carefully making use of every crevice in the rock. The two Kurds were blazing the way and I was following; while Rustem, the

FIG. 109.—The Tokhma Chai at Kötü Kaleh

gendarme, was waiting at the exit of the gorge. All was going fine—the Kurds had reached the cave—when suddenly, with only 3 meters separating me from my goal, my right foot lost its hold and I started to slide slowly but surely down into the Tokhma Chai. The situation, however, was not as alarming as it seems, since all I had to do was to let myself be driven by the powerful current through the gorge. Then,

with a few strong strokes, I could have reached the low bank beyond its exit. But even this was not necessary, since Rustem, not losing sight of us for a second, had jumped on a horse and forced it into the river nearly up to its back. The casualties were slight: the squeeze paper and brush had started on a trip to the Persian Gulf, while one of my knees was quite badly bruised, making a second attempt, for the time being, impossible. Rustem was furious about the accident,

FIG. 110.—The upper cave at Kötü Kaleh

for which he blamed the poor Kurds; and it was only after great difficulty that I succeeded in making them accept their *bakshish*.

The ride back to Derende was very romantic, especially crossing the ditches and creeks in the darkness. Up on the desert plateau Rustem became nervous; there were so many moving shadows and weird sounds! As we were approaching the gate of Derende, we were suddenly surrounded by several gendarmes and special watchmen yelling at us and poking their guns into our ribs. Presently, however, we were identified. It was long after midnight when I reached our quarters. I was told the next day that the troops and gendarmery had beaten and captured the greater part of the Kurdish band in a hard battle, but that some of its members had been known to escape in the general

direction of Derende. In the light of this information I understood the reception accorded us the evening before.

It was now July 3, and five days hence I had to be in Ankara. That would give me two days in the Elbistan valley and two days in the region between Gürün and Kayseri, where, it was said, there were remains of large fortresses. Accompanied by Rustem and another gendarme, I left Derende. The road, which was excellent, branched off southward 5 kilometers beyond the town. The flat plateau to which

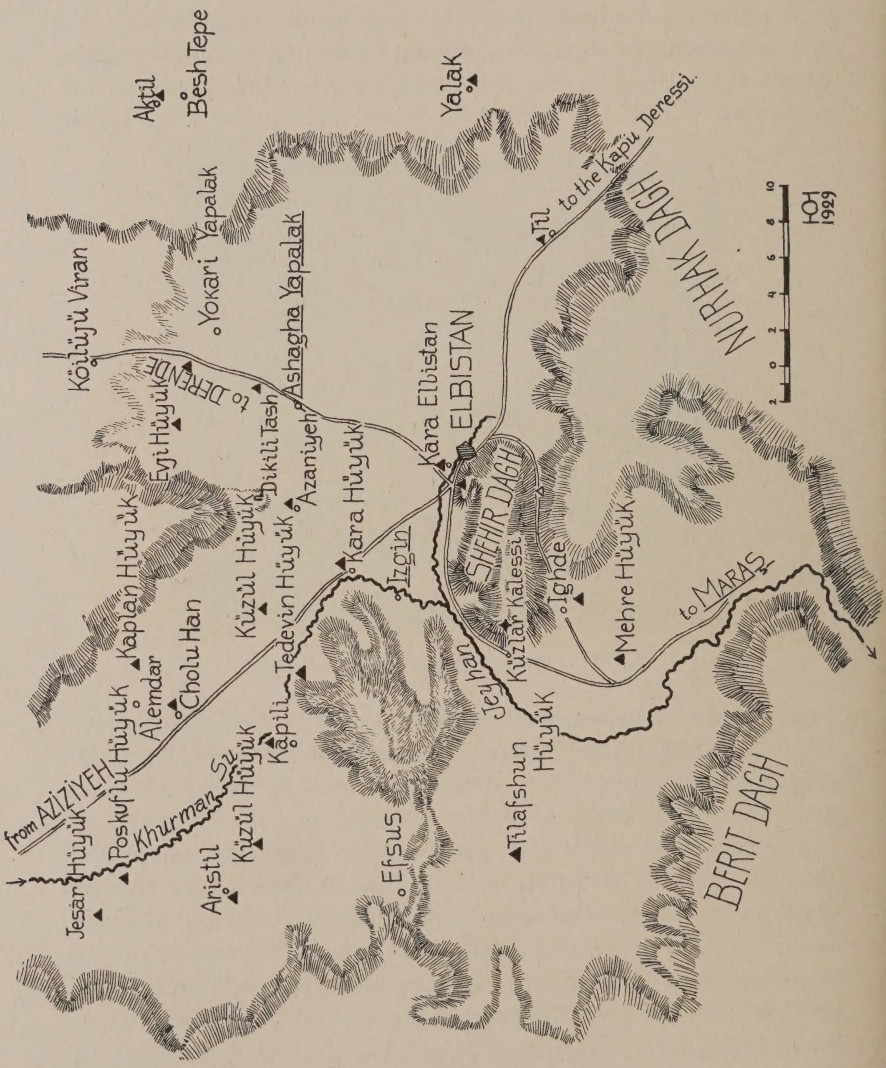
FIG. 111.—One of the lions at Arslan Tash

we had ascended sloped gently southward, covered with steppe grass. We passed Arslan Tash[1] with its two huge doorway-lions (Fig. 111). A few kilometers beyond was another ruin. Since the valley was muddy, we were stuck many times before reaching Elbistan (Map VII).

The Elbistan Ovasi is an extensive plain teeming with crops and protected by high mountain ridges difficult to cross. The Nurhak Dagh, in the southeast, and the Berit (Fig. 112), Chavdar, and Binbogha Dagh, in the south and southwest, are covered with snow. To the south, along the Jeyhan, an arduous path leads to Maraş; to the northwest another path follows the Khurman Su to Comana Cappa-

[1] Cf. Ramsay and Hogarth in *Recueil de travaux*, XV (1893), pp. 96–97 and Plate II A.

docia and Kayseri; while to the southeast one runs to Kapu Deressi. The only approach which a car might attempt is by way of the Palanga Ovasi from Derende. In the center, almost surrounded by the



Jeyhan, lies Elbistan, at the foot of the Shehir Dagh (Figs. 113 and 114). The arrival of our car caused a great sensation. The official of the Ministry of Public Instruction put us up in a school, and gave us all necessary information.

An afternoon excursion brought us to the source of the Jeyhan (Fig. 115). Water gushing forth from a wall of rock forms a pool fully 150 meters wide. I visited also a small *hüyük* near Kara Elbistan, and

FIG. 112.—Berit Dagh

made a sketch map of the other eighteen situated in the valley. I had planned to visit a few of these the next morning, then leave in the afternoon for Gürün. We passed the evening very agreeably with our host, Ferit Bey, the director of the middle school. Incidentally, we heard about the truck which had left Derende three months ago for Elbistan, but had never quite reached there. It had stuck in the mud a few kilometers away; and, as some important parts needed to be renewed, there it still was, with the chauffeur placidly waiting for spare parts. This story did not cause us any grave concern, since we were fortified by an ample supply of nearly all spare parts.

So on the morning of July 4 we started out in good spirits, with

Hüssein laying all kinds of plans for the feast we would have in Gürün. I first investigated the small Anzan Hüyük, then the Dikili Tash (Fig. 116), a rectangular monolith 5 meters high, set erect in a large block on a spur of the Karajik Dagh, visible from every part of the Elbistan Ovasi. The valley is an unrelieved plain. Its villages, looking

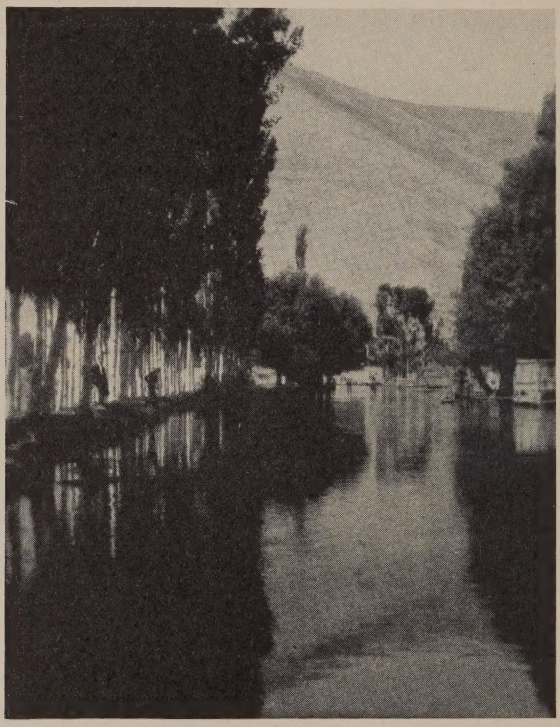


FIG. 113.—The Jeyhan at Elbistan

like isles in a lake (Fig. 117), are easily distinguished by the dark green trees encircling them and frequently by the presence of a *hüyük*. We cut cross the plain to Büyük Yapalak, joining one of the many tracks leading northward to the Palanga Ovasi.

At the foot of a *hüyük* we became imbedded, for the third time, in the mud. Frantically we worked to extricate our chariot. A few Kurds came indolently toward us, but neither the offer of money nor the

threats of the gendarmes could persuade them to help us. They merely sat and watched as we tugged and pushed and jerked, and the expression on their faces was none too kind. It was very hot and our supply of drinking water low, but the Kurds even refused to show us where the nearest spring was located. One of our gendarmes went off to the village, two hours away, in search of oxen. Meanwhile we succeeded in our frantic efforts to get out of the mud. But our rejoicing was brief. We were soon immersed in even deeper mud; and then we heard a foreboding click, and the motor began running wildly. This was just

FIG. 114.—A dam at Elbistan

the sort of experience we had had near Malatya in 1928. But this time we should not have to wait a day, for we had a spare axle. We did not think for a moment of the possibility of anything else being broken. In the afternoon Rustem arrived, visibly furious, escorting two ugly-looking natives with oxen (Fig. 118). From the outset the whole village had passively resisted him, and he had succeeded in getting the oxen only after many dire threats. Within ten minutes the car was on dry ground. Quickly we had it raised and propped with benzine tins and stones (Fig. 119). A hasty examination revealed that the differential was broken!

Resignedly we prepared camp at the foot of the *hüyük*, which I now had ample time to inspect. The steadily increasing group of natives became impertinent and jeered. Finally we were compelled to

force them back. After securing some water and cooking what food we still had, we went to sleep around the car, changing the guard every three hours.

FIG. 115.—Bash Punar, source of the Jeyhan.

Sunrise found us deliberating. When a thorough inspection had been made, we had quite a list of broken parts. Since the next Turkish village was four hours away, to try to take the car there was inadvisable. The best plan seemed to be that one man go to Elbistan, notify the gendarmery, and telegraph to Alishar for another car to bring us the spare parts. Any endeavor to procure horses would also have been fruitless. So, providing myself with a rifle belonging to one of the gendarmes, and taking the list of broken parts, I left on foot for

FIG. 116.—Dikili Tash

Elbistan, 22 kilometers away. There I arrived, safe but very thirsty, in the early afternoon.

FIG. 117.—Güverjinlik, an "island" in the Elbistan plain

FIG. 118.—The Fourth of July, 1929, in the Elbistan plain

No one at Elbistan was at all perturbed about our mishap; on the contrary, they were much pleased in the anticipation of my remaining for several weeks as guest. My anger reached the seething-point. But I had been long enough in the East to know that any evidence of a desire to hurry impedes, rather than aids, progress. I wired Alishar and the Ford agents in Sivas, Malatya, Maraş, and Kayseri. Then, after reporting to the commander of the gendarmery the behavior of the Kurds in Büyük Yapalak, I settled down at the school to smoke,

FIG. 119.—The Fourth of July, 1929, in the Elbistan plain

drink coffee, and converse with Ferit Bey and his friend Beha Bey, a young judge. The gendarmery immediately dispatched a patrol to our car with food and water. I had hoped for answers the next morning—all wires had been sent "answer prepaid"—but no answers came. To pass away the time, I rode out again to Yapalak. The gendarmery had had the car towed into the village, and had packed our instruments, films, etc., on their horses. The rest of our equipment, with the car and a guard, would stay in the village. In spite of their visible resentment, the villagers would never dare to become openly hostile (Fig. 120).

I had come on horseback, and had been dismounted for just a few

minutes when the horse disappeared. The village is far from large, but the horse could not be found. It was not my horse; it had been rented for twelve Turkish pounds. Out of pure malice, the villagers wanted to compel me to walk back. One of the gendarmes offered me his horse, but I declined with thanks. So once more I returned on foot to Elbistan, where I remained two days longer awaiting answers. In my field book the only record for these days is as follows:

"July 6.—Waiting for an answer and going crazy."

"July 7.—Waiting for an answer and going crazy."

FIG. 120.—Kurdish girls at Yapalak

Beha Bey and all the other officials were charming, but nothing could be done. Incidentally, the day after I had reported the Büyük Yapalak episode, the chief of the village was summoned to Elbistan and most severely reprimanded by the Turkish officials. He thereupon came to me and, apologizing profusely, offered me everything he had in the world, including one of his daughters!

I began a tour of the whole town, visiting every mosque and school, always hoping that on my return an answer would be there. Intermittently through the night I would jump up, thinking I had heard a car approaching. Finally I decided not to wait any longer, but to be-

gin the exploration of the plain. With this purpose in mind, I left the town at sunrise, accompanied by two gendarmes, every morning for the next five or six days. If I spoke, however, of wishing to go on to Gürün and Sivas, I was politely but firmly dissuaded and was advised to wait until the next day. I soon realized that this had some significance.

After seven days, replies began to arrive. From Malatya, Maraş, Sivas, and Kayseri: "Spare parts not available"; from Alishar: "All

FIG. 121.—Ighde Hüyük. Notice horseman on summit

cars but one broken down. Spare parts not available in Ankara. Ordered in İstanbul. Car possible in one week in Elbistan. Professor Sprengling arrived July 8 in Ankara." This seemingly unpardonable delay in replying to my S.O.S., with the further unavoidable wait in Elbistan, greatly aggravated me, whereupon my hosts finally enlightened me regarding the cause. The Kurdish band, beaten and dispersed near Malatya, had retired by way of Derende into the wild mountain range forming the northern border of the Elbistan valley. The telegraph lines which ran northward over this range had been destroyed. Consequently all messages had to be sent by a lengthy detour through Maraş. The plain was absolutely safe, but the mountains were infested. For a cordon to close in on the bandits in such wild mountain

country would obviously take considerable time. If I insisted upon going on, they would furnish me with an escort of eleven men to take me to Gürün, where I could procure an automobile. Gürün has a weekly mail connection by car with Sivas. I insisted. So on July 16 I left Elbistan with my escort.

Between July 8 and July 15 I had made several excursions in the valley, visiting nine more *hüyüks*. One excursion along the Maraş highway brought me to the large Ighde Hüyük (Fig. 121), where an Assyrian cylinder seal is said to have been found. I was not able, unfortunately, to acquire it, as its price was too high. From Ighde Hüyük, on the south side of the Shehir Dagh, a path leads up that mountain and through a narrow pass down to Elbistan (Fig. 122). On the narrow pass itself are the remains of a large fortification and a very large stone tumulus (Fig. 123). Another day I visited Izgin and Kara Elbistan. My longest excursion was up the Khurman Su to Tedevin and over the plain to Alemdar.

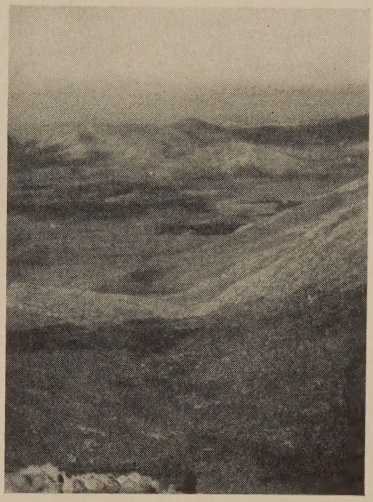


FIG. 122.—View of the Elbistan plain from the Shehir Dagh.

The largest ancient site in this valley seemed to be Kara Hüyük (Fig. 124). Part of the modern village is built on it. The surface is covered with wheat fields; the slopes, where H. Grothe made a small *sondage*,[1] have been badly destroyed by digging for fertilizer. Large wall stones stick out everywhere (Fig. 125), and quantities of bones and pottery fragments are scattered about. With the exception of a few large storage vessels, which they have re-used, the natives here have saved practically none of the antiquities. The mound, oval in form, is approximately 18–22 meters high, with a diameter of 500×300 meters. One-fourth of its surface has been destroyed. At Kara Hüyük

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. cclxxxxiii–cclxxxxiv.

again I noticed the conical mud-brick chimneys so characteristic of the Elbistan plain (Fig. 126). The village priest, a former wrestler,

FIG. 123.—Stone tumulus on the Shehir Dagh

FIG. 124.—Kara Hüyük near Elbistan

FIG. 125.—Ancient remains at Kara Hüyük near Elbistan

FIG. 126.—Mud-brick chimneys at Izgin

Pehlivan Mehmet Efendi, insisted on my seeing his gardens along the Khurman Su (Fig. 127). They were well worth visiting. He is an exceedingly clever man and a strong supporter of the new government, which is unusual here, where passive resistance seems to be the rule except among the officials. In my further exploring I visited the Küzül Hüyük, which is merely a large tumulus near a dried-out water hole. I saw three other ancient water holes with tumuli near by, readily recognizable in the plain.

FIG. 127.—Pehlivan Mehmet Efendi fording the Khurman Su

The small village of Alemdar presented an unusual aspect. Perched on a slope, it faced the setting sun. Seated everywhere in front of their houses were men and women. After I had dismounted and seated myself on one of the porches, not only the men but also the women and girls gathered about in a very friendly manner, and I had a pleasant visit with them while drinking the indispensable coffee. They were *muhajirs*, and were living an independent life quite by themselves. I was sorry that I had to leave so soon; but Kara Hüyük, to which I wished to return that day, was 20 kilometers away. Early the next morning I was back in Elbistan.

July 16 was scheduled as the day of our departure from Elbistan.

I had met there many agreeable people, and had had occasion for the first time to live in a town with Anatolians exclusively for more than two weeks. Part of my escort had left a few hours earlier, part would go with me, and the rest would meet us in the evening at the foot of the mountain complex over which we had to travel to reach Gürün. Mehmet Chavush, the leader of the troop, was the chief of the district through which our road led. We went across the plain to Küshla,

FIG. 128.—The Shehir Dagh from near Küshla. At right in middle distance are ruins of a fortification.

where the path ascended the mountain spurs. Shortly before the ascent were two small tumuli, and on the first spur (Fig. 128) the remains of an old fortification and a large stone tumulus. I am not yet sure whether all these stone tumuli are necessarily graves; it is possible that some are tower ruins. On both sides of the valley we passed old fortifications on the steep, rocky slopes (Fig. 129). The farther we went, the more desert-like the landscape became. Our tired horses moved slowly along the rocky path. The third very large depression which we met was the valley of Elmali, with rich fields and pastures. There was the *karakol*, where we were to assemble and remain for the night (Fig. 130).

At sunrise Mehmet Chavush gave orders for the march to Gürün.

We had to make 40 kilometers; and after passing the Heranti Dagh, the highest elevation on this plateau, there would be no water. The escort was divided into three groups, each supposed to march a distance of several hundred meters from the others but always keeping them in sight.

I first made an excursion with Mehmet Chavush and two gendarmes to the village of Kashanli, near which, on a cliff, is carved a small relief showing a seated figure with another figure standing behind it (Fig. 131). On the summit of the cliff are the remains of a castle called Küz Oghlan.

FIG. 129.—Kalajik

We rejoined our troop at Örenli. In nearly a straight line from Kashanli across the plateau to Örenli, and farther on in a northerly direction, I observed stone heaps, each about 1 meter high. These were stated to be path indicators for the winter months when the plateau is covered with snow. To describe this plateau is very difficult. It is torn by many rocky gullies, and the small valley basins are surrounded by low but steep rocky banks. Here I came to understand somewhat the obstacles to be overcome in subduing bandits in such territory. It is quite possible for a large organized unit to be hopelessly subjected to the mercy of a few riflemen. On first impression the territory seems simple to survey, with only a few rocks offering hiding-places; then suddenly one finds himself on the edge of a gully some meters deep and varying in width from 10 to 200 meters. Here

small units may not only hide but entirely disappear, eliminating all possibility of pursuit. The one way of effecting a capture is to sur-

FIG. 130.—Part of my escort at the *karakol* in Elmali

FIG. 131.—Cliff sculpture near Kashanli

round the whole complex and gradually narrow the circle, thereby cutting the bandits off from food and supplies. This, however, is not an easy task, as many villages, especially the Kurdish, are in sym-

pathy with the outlaw bands. The heat on the plateau was very disagreeable, and in spite of the growth of a large yellow flower no water could be found. At the foot of a large detached cliff there was a crack 10–12 meters deep in the surface of the plateau. One of our men climbed down to get some snow which lay at the bottom, so that we might quench our own thirst and that of our horses.

Toward evening we saw the elevation north of Gürün, the Gürün Dagh. It took us several hours more, however, before we reached the deeply cut Tokhma Chai valley. From my experience of last year, I knew this pathless slope to be very tricky, difficult for pedestrians and almost impossible for horses. In order to make the best descent possible, we formed an open line and started down on a long front. Gürün itself extends for nearly 4 kilometers. Far beneath us we could distinguish the dark green of gardens and trees and a few lights. We did not have any definite idea as to where we should land. Sliding on soft sand and stones and creating a miniature avalanche on a front of 600–700 meters, we descended rapidly and with considerable noise. On reaching the valley, our approach was greeted by terrified shrieks of "*eshkia!*" We laughed, but it was hard to make them believe that we were not *eshkia* ("bandits"). Near the town we found a cordon of gendarmery. Our descent had been seen; and since we had not followed the road like decent people, they had immediately thought of a raid. We were dead tired, but happy.

There were no cars in Gürün. Very early the next morning, then, I continued northward toward Sivas with three gendarmes. On the third morning we saw a car near Manjolik on its way from Sivas to Gürün. Without much difficulty my gendarmes persuaded the chauffeur to take me to Sivas. Twenty-four hours later I was in Kayseri. I telegraphed to Alishar that I should reach Haji Shefatli by train the following morning. When the train pulled in at eleven o'clock, there was no car there. Physically and nervously I was on edge, and my condition was not improved by waiting. Zeki Bey, the station master, was exceedingly kind, and tried to make me as comfortable as possible. In the afternoon, when the heat of the sun had lessened, we went down to the Konak Su and started to fish with primitive hook and line. This was most relaxing.

The next morning, with much rattle and noise, our old truck ar-

rived from Alishar. This year we had five cars. One was now broken down in Elbistan and two in camp; the only one in semirunning condition had left for Elbistan the day before with the spare parts; so the only available "car" was this truck, which in five hours' time we cajoled back to camp.

Professor Sprengling was there when we arrived, and everyone was in good spirits. The excavations had progressed very well. The remains of a huge slanting defense wall had appeared on the lower part of the citadel mound, and new plots had been started on the lower terrace to investigate the interesting Period II. After three days of well-earned rest and study of the excavation plots and objects, Professor Sprengling and I left for Ankara.

III

ANKARA

Ankara, where we lingered for nearly three weeks in daily contact with the Minister of Public Instruction and his officials, has gone through an almost incredible evolution in the three short years since my first visit. In 1926 the railway station was connected with the city, which extended around the imposing acropolis, by a very dusty road about a kilometer long. Between the city and the station

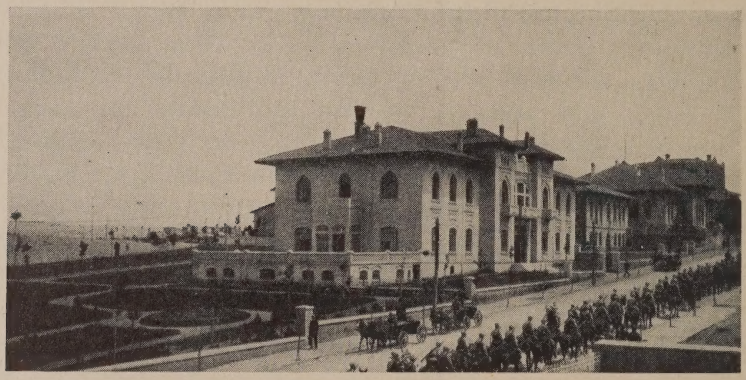


FIG. 132.—The home of the National Assembly at Ankara

stretched marshland, breeding every variety of sickness. At the point where the road entered the city there stood two fairly large modern buildings and several smaller ones. On the mountain slopes to the east appeared little groups of new houses—the nucleus of Yeni Shehir. But in the city proper there were no trees, no greenery whatever, only dust and a dry, scorching heat.

Today the road once buried under dust has been converted into a fine boulevard, lined with trees and plots of grass. The home of the National Assembly (Fig. 132) and the Ankara Palace Hotel, the largest two buildings, are surrounded by colorful flower gardens, cool green trees, and playing fountains, while several structures of modern design and size—banks, apartment houses, etc., four to six stories high—

FIG. 133.—The citadel of Ankara, as seen from the minaret of Haji Bairam, which is built in part over the ancient Temple of Augustus and Roma. Extending downward from the summit of the hill, where now a government museum is installed, are the walls which protected the ancient dam and the water supply. Embassies and apartment houses are rapidly springing up over the recently cleared areas of the city.

have been erected (Fig. 133). And Yeni Shehir, the little flock of cottages bordering the mountains, has grown to be a most attractive suburb boasting embassies, many villas, and luxuriant gardens. Roads have been built, and motor-driven water wagons sprinkle the paved streets. The Palace Hotel is as luxurious a hostelry as one could find

FIG. 134.—The Temple of Augustus and Roma at Ankara

in the largest American or European city. Incidentally, during our stay this year at the Palace Hotel, we met Professor Jansen, who has been appointed by the Turkish government to plan and direct the future development of Ankara. The city is growing like a mushroom, and I am convinced that within a few years' time it will be an entirely modern metropolis, artfully combining the picturesque beauty of the past (Fig. 134) with the comfort and efficiency of the present.

The Ministry of Public Instruction and the Ministry of the Interior are two of the most important governmental posts, and the incumbents of both have always been especially capable and well-trained men. H. E. Cemil Bey, who was Minister of the Interior until 1927, is now the leader of the largest political organization in Turkey—the People's party. His successor, H. E. Ṣukri Kaya Bey, a graduate of the Sorbonne, is constantly endeavoring to improve the internal organization of Anatolia. The heads of the provinces, the *valis*, are directly under his jurisdiction, as is the splendid gendarmery. In the course of my travels I had frequent dealings with gendarmes, and without exception I found them courteous and efficient. An irrefutable proof of this efficiency is the absolute safety of the roads. If a small band of twenty or twenty-five men is found to be hiding in the mountains (in my four years' travel in Anatolia I have never yet met a bandit), quick and energetic measures are taken for its capture, which is usually accomplished within a fortnight.

The highwaymen are, for the most part, Kurds who have drifted in from the east, often supplied with foreign money. It may be that there are some who have been driven by crop failure to engage in banditry, but they are rare. Holdups in our sense do not exist, and if but one occurs—as one did this year near Tarsus—everyone calls it a "crime wave." Murder for material gain is likewise extremely rare. The few cases of which I know were the outcome of quarrels, or affairs of honor. And in Anatolia justice is swift! There is no "protection." It is amusing, to say the least, to observe the wide publicity given to a single crime in Asia Minor by European and American newspapers, while they react most casually to atrocious crimes happening daily in Occidental countries.

Hand in hand with public safety goes commercial and industrial progress. Factories are being built everywhere, and power stations have been constructed in even the smallest provincial capitals. Considerable activity is noticeable also in the rebuilding of highways and the erection of dams. Furthermore, the railroad-building program nearing completion is in itself a remarkable economic achievement.

Notwithstanding all this, the most significant metamorphosis is in the individual himself. The day of the idle *efendi* has passed; if one wants to live, work is compulsory. And of work there is abundance.

Simultaneously with the adoption of a different economic system, the institution of the veiled lady has passed. I did not see one veiled woman anywhere in Ankara this year. Incidentally, I was told of the very ingenious tactics employed by the police to discourage the last conservative and obdurate matrons from adhering to this tradition. Whenever a policeman saw a veiled lady on the street, he politely approached her and, apologetically excusing himself, informed her that he was forced to raise her veil in order to determine officially whether she was a "particular person being sought by the police," who might be concealing his identity by this disguise! When this had happened on two or three occasions, such women, desiring to avoid further embarrassment, abandoned the veil. It is curiously interesting that the social life of Ankara, participated in equally by Turks and foreigners, inclines toward the adoption of American rather than European customs.

The most significant work of the government agencies is probably done by the Ministry of Public Instruction. The late minister, Necati Bey, a former army officer, was a man of indomitable energy and great talent for organization. His work is now being carried on by H. E. Cemal Hüsni Bey, who studied for many years in Geneva and Paris. One of the most significant educational innovations is the introduction of the alphabet in Latin characters, and the rapidity and thoroughness with which it is being accepted is astonishing. A large percentage of the population which could heretofore neither read nor write has learned the new script. Primary schools, middle schools, and lyceums, the last mostly coeducational, are being built yearly in increasing numbers, while teachers' colleges and summer courses, conducted by members of the ministry, help to produce the necessary personnel. One of the big problems of the new Turkey is the question of trained personnel. Excellent teachers are available for the higher posts, and well-equipped persons are procurable to assume the education of the youngest minds, but instructors and supervisors capable of training the middle group are remarkably lacking.

Falling within the province of the Minister of Public Instruction is the conservation of antiquities. The laws regarding their conservation are very strict, though they are not always rigidly enforced. Enforcement is very expensive, and there are so many other things more im-

peratively necessary. In any event, the work of foreign scholars meets with the friendliest co-operation. The once-dreaded *bakshish* system has vanished.

Whoever has witnessed the present ministers and their aids at work in Ankara, and is cognizant of the difficult conditions existing in Anatolia, can have nothing but the highest admiration for them. Unfortunately, most visitors stay in Ankara for only a short time, and while there do not see very far beyond the lobby of the Ankara Palace. This has, however, no restraining influence on the formation of their conclusions. During such a brief sojourn, one meets the business man waiting for endless weeks to land a contract; the contractor seeking governmental commissions; or the engineer just returned from a strenuous survey in the eastern provinces, often physically run down, clothed in rags, and with shattered nerves. Such individuals, it must be conceded, are not likely to be in a contented or optimistic state of mind. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the opinion of the visitor is formed. His usual conviction is a skeptical one, replete with adverse criticism. It is true that many things still need to be changed, and many things could, as we see them, have been started differently. At the same time, I think it grossly unfair not to acknowledge and appreciate the distinct progress made under Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha during the brief existence of the Republic.

It pleased me very much indeed to see that in the new city plan conservation of the fine monuments within Ankara has been given consideration. The houses around the Temple of Augustus and Roma will be razed, and the square gained thereby will be transformed into a garden which will serve the further purpose of an open-air museum for the display of inscriptions, capitals, etc. The old Roman dam at the foot of the mighty castle will be restored. The small ethnological museum, a hall of which shelters our finds from Alishar, will be enlarged to twice its present size. In the museum there is a unique collection of Anatolian ethnological material, only a small part of which can now be placed on exhibition because of the very limited space.

Besides making intensive studies of the Haji Bektashi collection in the museum and of the walls of the citadel, we undertook two further investigations in the vicinity. The first was a visit to the fortress of Giaur Kalessi, the excavation of which becomes daily more intriguing.

The second was up the valley of the Tabakshaneh Su, where a new water supply for Ankara is under construction. In the course of excavation, ancient water channels have been unearthed and will in part be re-used.

Professor Sprengling and I did not find it possible this year to undertake a project which we had planned together. In the first week of August, then, I left Ankara for Alishar, where I had some minor investigations to complete. While awaiting Professor Sprengling there, I made our preparations for another trip. Professor and Mrs. Karl O. Müller, Dr. Franz Forsteneichner, and Ali Bey, from Ankara, arrived in Alishar for a few days' stay. Inasmuch as they had planned a short trip in Asia Minor, we agreed to travel together at least as far as Sivas.

IV

EXPLORATIONS EASTWARD

On August 12, at 6:00 A.M., we left our Alishar camp. Professor Sprengling decided to come along in spite of an injured leg. Our car, repaired and newly outfitted, was in the lead, with our guests following. This was perhaps not very polite, as the second of two automobiles on an Anatolian road is condemned to an inescapable shower of dust, even though it keeps several hundred meters in the rear. But this time we had a legitimate excuse—showing the way. We followed the Haji Shefatli road until we reached Battal, then, turning southward, took our road of 1927 to Jilbakh. Passing through Kuzaji, where we had frequently stopped for water in 1927, I noticed in the village graveyard a peculiar-looking stone slab. Upon investigation, I found that it had a relief showing two animals facing each other (Fig. 135), in the style of the reliefs at Hüyük near Alaja. The natives told us that it had been taken from the *hüyük* a few kilometers east of the village.

The bridge over the Kara Su near Kuzaji was in a still worse state of decay than when we had last seen it; but having no alternative we crossed it, and, as usual in the land of Allah, nothing happened. In any other country, certainly one of our two cars would have gone through. We passed the large *hüyük* near Bash Köi, explored in 1926. At Karasenir we left the Kara Su valley, which this year boasted an exceptionally large crop of wheat, and ascended the low but steep western bank of the broad valley to the plateau of the Malya Chölü.

The Malya Chölü, extending for 100 kilometers westward to the slopes of the Chichek Dagh, is largely covered with dry steppe grass alternating with sand, with a few picturesque elevations in the center and dry, rocky ravines. The landscape changes rather suddenly, and I found that the eastern border of the desert was exactly like its northern and western borders. Some 12 kilometers southwest of Karasenir hot springs occur at the foot of an oblong elevation. On its top are

two large tumuli, one at each end. We passed the large village of Orta Köi, which lies on two small elevations in a broad depression. A few springs in the otherwise dry landscape had undoubtedly enticed man to build here. For two hours we drove southwestward over the steppe along a nearly level road. On the horizon appeared the chain of the

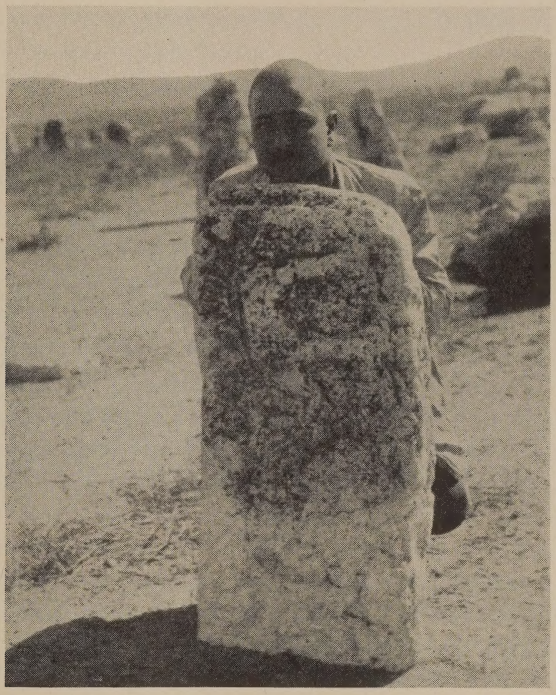


FIG. 135.—A sculptured slab at Kuzaji

Küzül Dagh (see Map II), and high above it the snowy peak of the pyramidal Erjias Dagh. We crossed the remains of an old road running in a roughly northwest-southeast direction. On the Kiepert map it is called a road of Sultan Murad IV. I am tempted to believe that it is a still older highway, connected perhaps at the north border of the Chölü with the embankment at Bulumashlü.[1]

[1] *OIP*, V, 85.

At Topakli we reached the Kirshehir-Kayseri highway. To the south the plain ascends in a gentle slope toward the crest of the Küzül Dagh. Westward, the road enters a broad valley between the hills of the Karaja and Küzül Dagh and the Küzül Tepe. Topakli was formerly settled by Greeks and Armenians. It is still a fairly prosperous-looking town, now inhabited by Turkomans. During the summer these people prefer to live in a sort of portable round hut (Fig. 136) rather than in the stuffy *kerpich* houses. A large *hüyük* 16–18 meters high is situated in the midst of the village (Fig. 137). A special feature of this *hüyük* is its step-like slope. Its top forms a terrace 140×180 meters in size, with a slight elevation in the center. Professor Sprengling and I went up the slope to gather pottery specimens. We found sherds of all our Alishar periods except Period II. There was also a fragment of an inscribed Byzantine tombstone which was being used as a doorstep in the *jami*.

FIG. 136.—A summer home in Topakli

Here we separated from Professor Müller and his party. They were going straight through to Kayseri, whereas we had planned to visit first the famous Haji Bektash. For several kilometers we followed the highway toward Kirshehir. It is extremely interesting that here again, on the outskirts of a plain, numerous ancient settlements appear. I counted no less than four in this relatively small area. Through a gap between the Küzül Dagh and the Karaja Dagh we crossed the mountain range. Behind it appears another, the last before the deeply cut valley of the Küzül Irmak. Between these two ranges, in a broad, fertile valley, is situated Haji Bektash, surrounded by gardens, fields, and rich pastures. Approaching it from the north, one sees the relatively large town extending from the famous *teke* (Fig. 138), with its minaret and *türbehs*, to the large *hüyük* (Fig. 139). Outside of the town stands a windmill (a rare sight in Anatolia), which has apparently been out of commission for many years.

The *teke* or monastery of Haji Bektash was the center of the dervish order named after it, until the order was prohibited by the present government. It is rumored, however, that it still exists secretly. The order is said to have been founded here by Haji Bektash at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. Dark and mysterious, like the whole cult, is the story of its founder and foundation. It seems to be connected in some way with the Janizaries, of

FIG. 137.—The Topakli *hüyük*

which élite military corps Haji Bektash was the patron saint. His followers called themselves Moslems, but they were unquestionably antinomians and pantheists. They represented in painting both man and animals, and imbibed alcoholic liquors, especially *rakki;* but of their actual doctrine we know little. It is probable that the present Küzül Bash or Alevi, now existing in great numbers, are a survival. Strangely enough, the members of the Haji Bektashi order appropriated from the early Christians an important feature of their symbolism. Everywhere on their cult objects appears the division into twelve, derived from the Twelve Apostles. The white cap which they wore had twelve segments; the stone star worn suspended on the breast or, in larger form, placed over a doorway or, decorated with

precious stones, used for certain ceremonies had twelve points (Fig. 140). On each of two large bronze candelabra, now in the new ethnological museum at Ankara along with many other priceless mementos from the *teke*, appears a bishop's miter. But still older traditions must be buried in the cult.

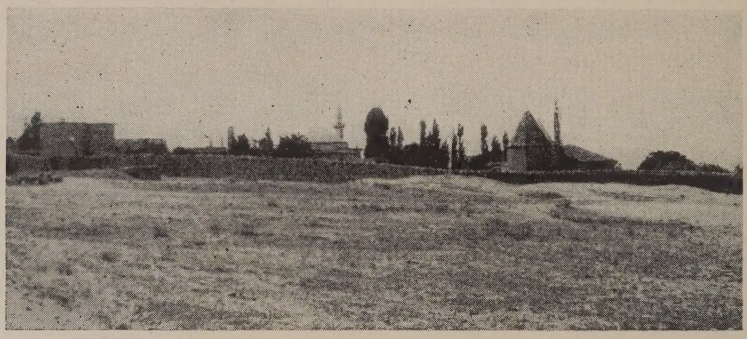


FIG. 138.—Haji Bektash

FIG. 139.—The *hüyük* at Haji Bektash

We know that there was in this region in Roman times a city called Venasa, where a male deity with three thousand hierodules held his court. This site is identified by some scholars with the modern Avanos, not far away, and by others with Haji Bektash itself. The huge mound at Haji Bektash suggests that in still more remote periods

it was an important center, and the mystery of the founder of the Bektashi further confirms the belief that it is one of the many ancient holy sites of Asia Minor for the foundation of which we have not even an approximate date. In Haji Bektash I was offered a number of small charms, obviously modern, of exactly the same form as some (e.g., Fig. 14, *D*) which I picked up this year in one of the deep trenches at the Kül Tepe. The Boghaz Köi texts tell us of the principal Hittite religious center, Arinna, which, nearly all scholars agree,

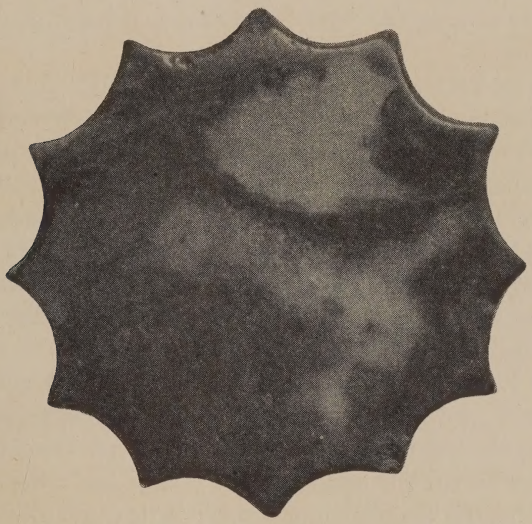


FIG. 140.—A symbol of the Haji Bektashi

was located south of Boghaz Köi. In view of all these considerations, I feel it would be worth while to test the large Haji Bektash mound and thereby perhaps settle a problem long disputed.

The cult objects for the use of the order have, in many cases, been cut from a light green stone streaked with yellow, similar to the so-called Mexican onyx. This stone, found not far from the *teke*, resembles alabaster.

After the district officials, now residing within the *teke*, had shown us every courtesy and given us all possible information regarding the buildings and their former use, we left by the same road along which

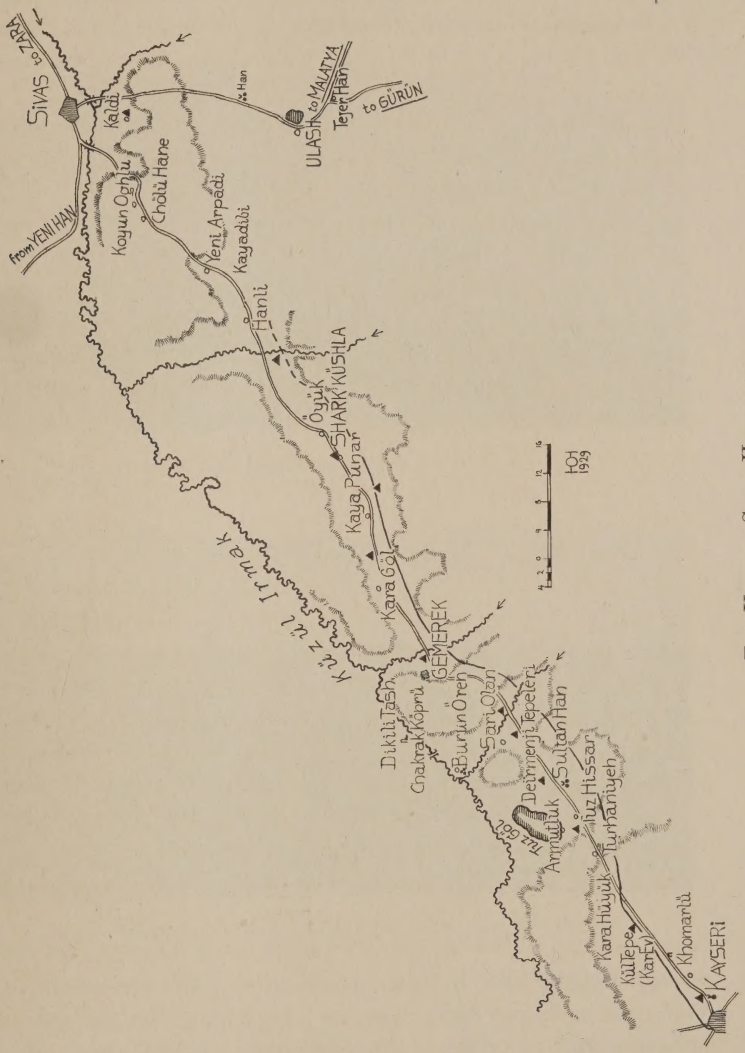
we had come. From Avuch we followed the highway again to Kayseri, which we reached toward evening. As far as Himmet Dede it was new territory for me, and I noticed two new *hüyüks*. Near Himmet Dede the road enters a valley leading down to the Küzül Irmak. We crossed that river over the Chok Göz Köprü. Unfortunately, I was unable to visit the famous site of Yamula, only 10 kilometers east of Himmet Dede. Through the valley of the Kara Su, the Melas of classical times, we reached Boghaz Köprü and the plain of Kayseri. The whole complex of the Erjias Dagh was clear, not one cloud hovering about its summit. So while approaching Kayseri we enjoyed a beautiful view.

On this occasion we did not go to the Erjias Palace Hotel, as I had been told that the İstanbul Palace was finer. The difference between them proved to be slight; but I was thankful here to be able to sleep on the veranda. We passed the evening with Professor Müller's party in a beautiful new garden situated at the foot of the mighty castle in the center of the town. As Professor Sprengling's leg had become worse, so that he could not continue the trip, he decided to return to Ankara. The next morning Hüssein and I took him to the train and then proceeded toward Sivas.

Although I had followed this road several times in the course of this and last year's travels, I had never had time to examine the various *hüyüks* along the highway; so I planned to do it now (see Map VIII). The first *hüyük* is a rather small one, near the ruins of a fine old *türbeh* (Fig. 141), probably the remains of a small castle or guardhouse on the ancient highway. That the old road had apparently followed the same route as the new one was shown by the many deep furrows cut into the soft tuff to right and left of the present road. We came next to the ruins of a *han* with a *jami* attached. Farther on we passed the Kül Tepe. Shortly before reaching the byway which leads thither, we noticed cut into the cliff face a cave settlement (Fig. 142). Soon afterward we saw Professor Müller's party having breakfast near a little *han*, and we gladly accepted their cordial invitation to join them. They too were going to Sivas, but from there would turn northward, whereas we were to proceed southeastward.

A few kilometers to the northeast, after passing a small *hüyük* west of the road, we reached the plain around the Tuz Göl, a sheet of ex-

quisite turquoise. Not far from the small town of Tuz Hissar is the famous Sultan Han, one of the most beautiful and imposing Seljuk



THE KAYSERI-SIVAS HIGHWAY

ruins in Anatolia (Fig. 143). In this plain I saw two other *hüyüks*, one relatively large (Fig. 144). Farther on, the road ascends, later to

descend into the large valley where lies Sari Oghlan, through which we had passed in 1928 after crossing the Küzül Irmak at Chakrak Köprü. Here, on the north border of the valley, could be seen a small *hüyük*.

Driving on, we reached Gemerek. This town, situated farther up the slope a little north of the road, commands a fine view of the rich,

FIG. 141.—A *hüyük* and *türbeh* near Kayseri

FIG. 142.—A cave settlement beside the Kayseri-Sivas highway

extensive plain. Near by is an artificially terraced hillock with many building-remains, probably of rather recent origin. Its appearance suggests the ruins of a mighty zikkurat. Near a modern *han* east of the town, at the point where the road crosses the river over a well-built stone bridge, the remains of an ancient settlement form a large flat

hüyük (Fig. 145). There I collected almost exclusively pottery of our Alishar Period II. Like the Kül Tepe and our Alishar *hüyük*, this seems to have been another foreign trading-post of the third millennium B.C. Professor Julius Lewy, of Giessen, an authority on the

FIG. 143.—Sultan Han

FIG. 144.—A *hüyük* near Sari Oghlan

early foreign merchants of Cappadocia, had already in the spring of 1929 in Berlin expressed to me his conviction that another such settlement existed near Gemerek.

Farther northeast, a little beyond Kara Göl, is a small conical *hüyük*. A still smaller *hüyük* appeared not far from Kaya Punar. Shark Küshla, with its large ancient colony on the hill, towering

above the modern town (Fig. 146), is rapidly growing prosperous as the halfway station between Kayseri and Sivas. The new railroad

FIG. 145.—The *hüyük* east of Gemerek

FIG. 146.—Shark Küshla

line which will connect these two principal towns of Central Anatolia has already reached this point, and the work is steadily progressing. By next year Sivas will be reached. Twenty-five kilometers

nearer Sivas there is a medium-sized flat *hüyük* 1 kilometer south of the road. Then the road climbs the mountain (Fig. 147) north of which are situated Sivas and the Küzül Irmak.

The descent in steep hairpin curves to the Küzül Irmak valley affords the traveler one of the most attractive views in Asia Minor (Fig. 148). One sees, as from an aeroplane, the silvery band of the Küzül Irmak traversing the broad valley, the long, many-arched bridge west of Sivas looking like a pretty toy, Sivas itself nestled amid

FIG. 147.—Ascent of the mountain complex south of Sivas

trees and gardens, and the picturesque rocky slopes, bare of vegetation, that drop steeply into the valley. Late in the afternoon we reached the city. I still had time to call upon our good friend of last year, Hüsni Bey, the director of the Lyceum, and to visit with him the two Seljuk *medresehs*. In the rich glow of the sunset these were remarkably beautiful, especially the courtyards with their serene cypresses and softly gurgling fountains.

Our schedule permitted no rest here. The next morning, before the sun-god had turned out in his chariot, we were ready to leave for Elaziz, 350 kilometers to the southeast. Professor Müller and his party also rose early to bid us farewell. We arranged to meet again twelve days later at Trabzon on the Black Sea, which I had planned to reach

via Erzincan. But Allah willed otherwise; this part of our program evidently was not in accordance with his plan.

From Sivas via Ulash to Tejer Han, whence a road branches off to Gürün, there is nothing of interest except the ruins of a *han* some 30 kilometers south of Sivas. At Tejer Han our road turned to the east.

FIG. 148.—Mountain landscape south of Sivas

In countless serpentine curves we ascended the plateau, from which one has an excellent view northeastward to the majestic wall of the Tejer Dagh. The small town of Delik Tash is situated on the plateau. In spite of the sun it was very cold, and the natives told us that they often have eight months of snow. The road descends gently from here, running in an almost straight line toward Kangal, through which I passed for the second time this year. The journey to Malatya was uneventful and not particularly interesting. In contradistinction to

the trip, the beauty of the landscape after reaching the Malatya plain is always attractive. After complying with the passport regulations, we had a quick lunch and then sped eastward from Malatya.

Soon we could see the destruction which the spring rains had caused along the road between Malatya and the Euphrates. At several places the road was covered for several hundred meters with rocks and sand washed down the mountain gullies (Fig. 149). When we finally reached Pirot (Fig. 150) after painfully worming our car through the stones

FIG. 149.—The "road" between Malatya and Pirot

and sand of the river, the fine wooden bridge which we had crossed in 1928 was no longer there. In its place stood dejected-looking posts, sticking up out of the swiftly-flowing yellow waters of the Euphrates. A little north of Pirot we noticed two *kaiks* in use as ferryboats, and automobile tracks indicated the location of the crossing.

The ferryboats, roughly hammered together out of thick timbers and planks, are heavy but small (Fig. 151). Their method of locomotion is novel. Three men first pull the *kaik* upstream along the bank; then, jumping in, they begin to "row" toward the other side. Their "rowing" means that they handle long poles on which they have nailed some boards, while at the same time they employ considerable vocal power. If it pleases Allah, the intended point of disembarkation is

reached, where the bank has been somewhat flattened to expedite the landing of cars and *arabas*. If Allah wills otherwise, as he did with the ferry preceding us, the opposite shore is reached 500 or 1,000 meters below the goal. Enormous effort must then be expended to drag the *kaik* back, against a mighty current, to the place where disembarkation is possible. Sometimes a boat drifts into the remains of the old bridge, coming subsequently to a series of rapids. At this juncture there is no alternative but to abandon the *kaik* and reach one or

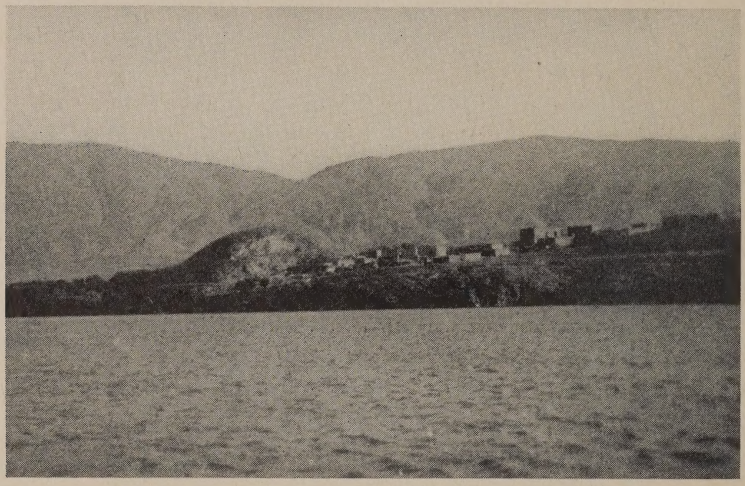


FIG. 150.—The Euphrates at Pirot

the other bank somehow! With a little boy blowing the horn of our car continuously, to create the impression of a motor launch, we reached the opposite bank in safety at just the correct spot. Hüssein vowed that we succeeded so well only because he had helped to row and I to steer.

The Kurdish village on this shore had been completely washed away by the flood (Fig. 152), but the natives appeared undisturbed. They were dwelling happily in tents and huts built out of the débris of their former houses, rejoicing over the fertile silt which the flood had deposited on their fields and gardens. As the "steering" had made me thirsty, I was drinking some *airan*, pondering meanwhile over its brownish white color and very peculiar taste, when I observed an

old Kurdish woman concocting the beverage out of the yellowish water of the Frat Su. Needless to say, my drink was not finished.

FIG. 151.—A *kaik* at Pirot. It replaces the destroyed bridge in background

FIG. 152.—The destroyed Kurdish village opposite Pirot

Almost as far as Khumur Han, one side of the road had been partly washed away by the river, while the other side was obstructed by loose

stones and sand washed down from the hills. A foreman and five workmen who had been assigned to the job of leveling it were not making much headway. At Khumur Han (Fig. 153) the road leaves the Euphrates valley, which narrows more and more into a gorge, and ascends a mountain plateau (Fig. 154) through which a depression leads toward the Elaziz plain.

We entered Elaziz at sunset. Our beds were prepared on the roof of a large *han;* and after supping in the garden, to the accompaniment of

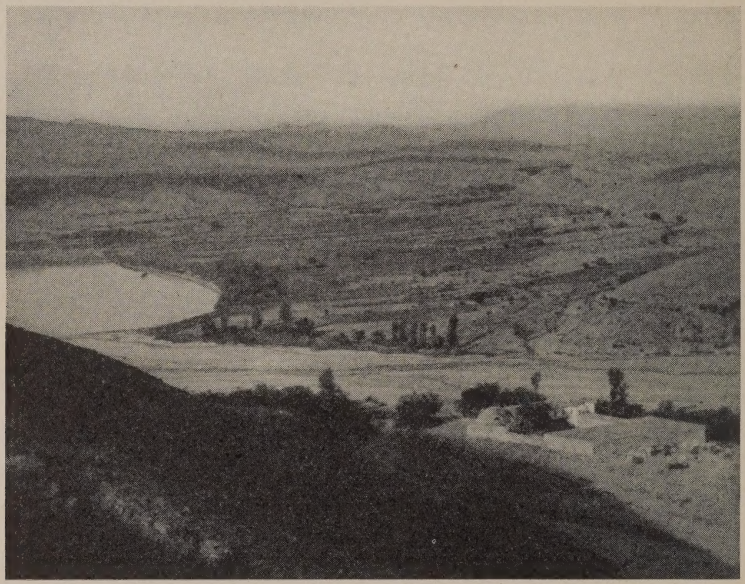


FIG. 153.—The Euphrates valley at Khumur Han

Kurdish music, we went to sleep. The next morning we strolled through the city. Here, as in all *vilayet* capitals, there is much building activity, while old and valuable edifices are being destroyed. To my great surprise, the bazaar was rather poor. Even copper was scarce, despite the close proximity of Ergani Maden, one of the most productive and important copper mines of the Near East.

Notwithstanding the permits which we displayed, the officials resolutely discouraged our proceeding any farther. They told us politely, but very definitely, that we could not reach Erzincan directly from

here, but should have to return to Sivas and proceed via Zara and Su Shehri. This was most disappointing, since it meant a loss of at least

FIG. 154.—The mountain road behind Khumur Han

FIG. 155.—Kel Mahmutli

two days in traveling through territory already familiar and of no particular interest. However, they would not consent to my attempting my proposed journey even on horseback and with an escort. As a result I had to content myself with making an exploration southeastward to Ergani Osmanyeh, situated 50 kilometers northwest of Diyar-

FIG. 156.—The plain of Elaziz

bekir. Toward noon, then, we left Elaziz, accompanied by an inspector of the Bureau of Public Instruction.

Elaziz is situated in the midst of a large fertile plain densely settled and well cultivated. The former capital of this district was Kharput, a large city located in the mountains 5 kilometers north of Elaziz. Elaziz derives its importance not only from the fertility of the plain, but also from its strategical position. The only road leading from

Central Anatolia to Diyarbekir passes through here, while another goes via Keban Maden over the Euphrates to Arabkir and Egin, and a third leads northward via Khozat to Erzincan.

In the western part of the valley I did not see many remains of ancient sites in the form of *hüyüks*. Only between Tütlü Köi and Ponik is there a small mound, and at Kel Mahmutli a medium-sized one (Fig. 155). In the eastern part I discerned five mounds. The plain is bounded on the southeast by a regular mountain wall, approximately

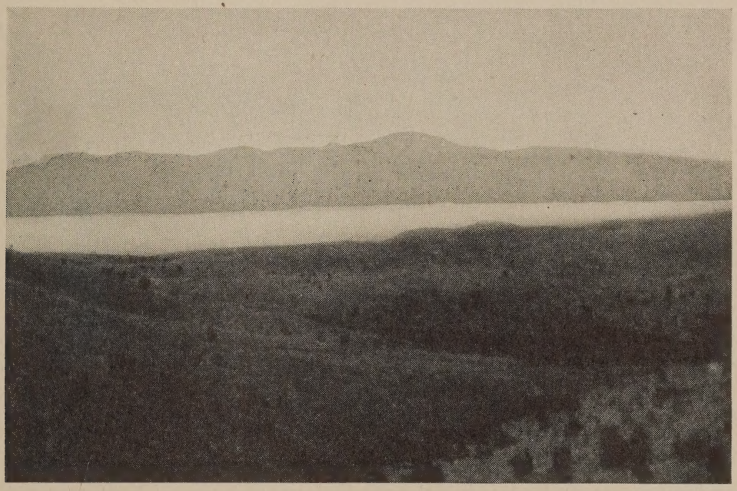


FIG. 157.—The Göljük

1,200 meters higher than the general level of the valley. For 12 kilometers the road ascends steadily, affording a magnificent view of the plain, at the northern end of which can be seen at intervals the gleam of the Euphrates. Upon reaching the highest ridge, the road continues at that level, and the view becomes even more beautiful. On one side lies the plain (Fig. 156), nearly 1,200 meters lower; and on the other side, only 100 meters below, the large turquoise expanse of the Göljük (Fig. 157). It almost seems as though, if one took a spade and dug a little canal, the whole lake might be emptied in cascades into the Elaziz plain. This mountain wall forms the divide between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

Slowly, over a bad road, we descended toward the north end of the

lake. A small channel, called by the natives Dijle Nehr, connects the lake with the western Tigris, which originates not far away. Rapidly the small stream grows into a mountain torrent and enters a long gorge with steep rocky slopes, into which the roadway has been blasted (Fig. 158). With the exception of a few miserable scrub trees at the bottom of the gorge, for kilometer after kilometer one sees only barren rocks. The high mountains become higher and wilder. Finally we

FIG. 158.—The road along the upper Tigris

reached Ergani Maden, perched on many terraces halfway up the slope.

Ergani Maden is one of the largest and richest copper mines of the Near East. It is not necessary to mine very deeply to get valuable ore; it is a real mountain of copper. The great dumps covering the steep slopes prove that mining has been carried on here for centuries, perhaps for millennia. A large part of the copper used by the ancient Near Eastern peoples must have come from here. But the landscape is depressing. The once large town is practically deserted. The mountain slopes are bleak and jagged; and the houses, built of stone, are

roofless, with empty windows. The only spots of color are furnished by the small white house of the gendarmery station down at the bridge, where the road branches off from the Diyarbekir highway, and by four or five dark green trees at the bottom of the valley (Fig. 159). The copper mine has been closed for several years, pending the arrival

FIG. 159.—The bridge over the Tigris at Ergani Maden

of the railroad, the future route of which is marked everywhere along the road. The construction of this part of the railroad will obviously be a masterpiece of engineering. The Diyarbekir highway, with which the railroad will be parallel, is wide enough in only a few places for two cars to pass each other, and these places are more than 3 kilometers apart. If two cars meet, one has to back up, not an easy task on such roads; so we rejoiced that we met none.

A short distance beyond Ergani Maden the road leaves the Tigris

valley and ascends the mountains. Here these are not so bare, but have some scrub and in places even real trees. We rejoined the river, which we crossed toward the south over a fine stone bridge at a point where the valley broadens. We passed a few rocky ridges, and then reached an extensive plain sloping gently southward. At its north end, at the foot of a rocky elevation, is situated Ergani Osmanyeh, with the remains of a once large settlement. Upon entering this plain (Fig. 160) four *hüyüks* near villages become visible, and the highway

FIG. 160.—The plain south of Ergani Osmanyeh

may be seen running for many kilometers in a straight line toward Diyarbekir.

Because of the proximity of the frontier, the restlessness of the Kurds can everywhere be sensed. Ergani Osmanyeh has a large garrison. All traffic along the road is very strictly controlled by gendarmery patrols, and stations are located at frequent intervals. In spite of the fact that we were accompanied by a government official and had a ministerial permit, we had to stop everywhere for the examination of our passports. Although this procedure may cause the traveler much annoyance and waste of time, the government is entirely justified in adhering in this region to its meticulously vigilant policy, for foreign

emissaries are constantly endeavoring to foment revolt among the all-too-willing Kurdish tribes. Kurds are indifferent to what government holds the power, but are opposed in principle to any central power. The only governmental unit which they voluntarily recognize is their own tribal organization; and any power interfering with it and its periodical feuds, or trying to restrain their little robberies, is their enemy. Since the frontier is not very distant and the topography prevents systematic control, these nomads slip back and forth, constituting a permanent menace to the Turkish government, as were their predecessors to Mitanni and Assyria. This difficult situation, however, is very well handled by the new government in Ankara.

Near Ergani Osmanyeh I investigated a small site which proved to be a classical fort. It is situated near the point where the road emerges from the mountains through a narrow defile. The road was none too agreeable for driving, so we hastened to return; but we had barely reached the Göljük when it became dark. Very slowly, and never taking our eyes from the road, we made the steep descent into the Elaziz valley, and reached the city in safety.

The next day, Friday, August 16, we left Elaziz very early. As stated before, Erzincan could not be reached from the south. Consequently I must return to Sivas and enter the Erzincan *vilayet* from the west. From there I wanted to go north via Gümüsh Hane to Trabzon on the Black Sea. We had meant to reach Zara before the next day. Though we knew the roads only too well, I had hoped that no more than a day and a half would be lost by this detour of some 500 kilometers. The first delay occurred at the Euphrates ferry station near Pirot. One of the two *kaiks* had sunk, but the survivor made the crossing very easily—in two hours!

The second delay occurred in Malatya, where we had to stop for the passport visé. It was *juma*, the equivalent of our Sunday, and no higher police official was at the office. Moreover, since Erzincan required a special permit, none of the otherwise courteous policemen wanted to sign the visé, in spite of my ministerial letter of introduction and *permis de voyage*. Curiously, each of the three policemen present (Fig. 161) had a brother in the United States. A bond was established. Subsequently, on driving to the house of a higher police official, we secured with their help the necessary signature. Then we sped on

northward. In spite of the good time we were making on the bad road, we realized that we should barely reach Sivas that night. We passed Kangal at "full speed"—35 kilometers an hour, which is as fast, with few exceptions, as one is able to drive on the best Anatolian highways.

Suddenly stones were thrown at our car by some boys playing in a graveyard at the north end of the town. For a moment Hüssein slowed down, intending to stop and rebuke them, then changed his mind and went on. We were driving along the almost straight stretch of road toward Delik Tash. No obstacles were in sight for many hundred meters. And then—I found myself lying on the highway!

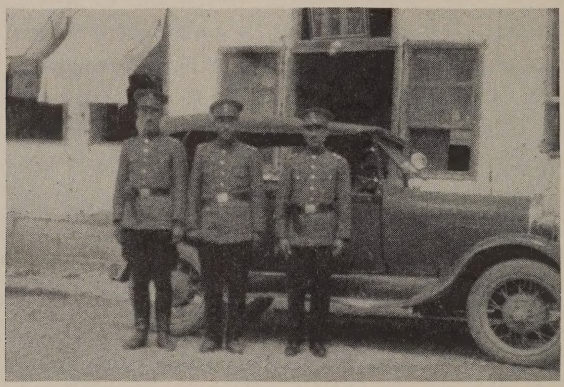


FIG. 161.—Malatya policemen

The first thing of which I was conscious was the wild noise of the motor. A warm, sticky fluid was trickling down my face. Shifting my position, I saw that the car was overturned, with Hüssein moaning beneath it. Discovering to my surprise that, though stiff, I could use all my limbs, I approached the car and stopped the motor. Then I pulled Hüssein out from under the car. He was unconscious, and blood covered his lips. From the back of the car, which now was an oily mess of broken surveying instruments, spare parts, and tools, I got out a sleeping-bag. The sun was sinking rapidly. I laid Hüssein near the car at the side of the road and started to hunt for water. Eventually I found in a small gully some brackish water with which I filled a little pail. It did not take long then to restore Hüssein to consciousness, but

he was in great pain. His chest, compressed by the steering wheel, was bruised and swollen. He was unable to move.

What was to be done? We were on the post road, and the two mail trucks plying between Sivas and Malatya were sure to pass here daily. We had seen them both in Kangal. The Sivas mail would pass some time between seven and eight in the morning. It was now seven-thirty in the evening. Failing to take our speeding into consideration, I figured that Kangal could not be far away. So, having made Hüssein as comfortable as possible under the circumstances and having placed a loaded revolver beside him, I started to walk back to Kangal. The revolver seemed a reasonable precaution because it was rumored that the region was infested with bandits, although, as stated before, I have never personally encountered one in Asia Minor.

My whole right side soon began to feel most uncomfortable. At every slight rise I kept expecting to sight the town. It was a beautiful Anatolian night, but I failed to become particularly enthusiastic over it. Not a sound suggested a village; there was only the monotonous song of the night breeze in the dry steppe grass. After two and a half hours a little elevation finally revealed the flickering lights of Kangal. I just managed to reach the gendarmery station and then fainted. But a glass of *rakki*, administered internally as well as on my bruised forehead, quickly revived me. After having assured the gendarmes that *eshkia* were not involved, I told my tale. Never before had I spoken Turkish so fluently. The gendarmery commander immediately ordered out a truck to bring Hüssein back to town. Although no physician was available, first aid could be administered better here than on the road.

I went back with the truck. According to its indicator, the accident had happened 16 kilometers north of Kangal; so it had not taken me overlong to reach the town. We lifted Hüssein into the truck and then righted our car. Under the glaring headlights it did not look very attractive. The whole upper part had been torn away, the windshield was smashed, and what was left of the body looked rather wrecked (Fig. 162). Fortunately, we had the new unbreakable glass; otherwise, bad cuts might have been added to our other injuries. To our surprise, when the steering wheel had been forced back into position, the starter worked and the motor began to hum. I took the wheel, and

by two o'clock we were back in Kangal. With the help of the gendarmery, a truck was secured for the following morning. The rest of the night I watched over Hüssein as he lay stretched out on the floor of the *han*.

Early in the morning our caravan started for Sivas. The truck, carrying Hüssein and two gendarmes, was in the lead. I followed, seated, none too confidently, at the wheel of our own car. By this time I had lost most of my agility, but I had a mechanic along in the event

FIG. 162.—Our wrecked car

of tire trouble. Toward noon we reached Sivas. There, with the help of Hüsni Bey and the inspector general, Rıfat Necdet Bey, we were admitted to the city hospital. An examination revealed that I had escaped with only swellings and bruises, but that Hüssein was in a serious condition. I wished to transfer him immediately to Ankara, where there are X-ray facilities; but this was impossible.

After a single day in the hospital, I spent the next four days at the Lyceum as the guest of Necdet Bey and Hüsni Bey, who extended to me every courtesy. While here, I obtained much interesting information regarding the reorganization of the schools and was permitted to attend several classes of a teachers' summer school. I also delivered a lecture before the whole school on the ancient history of Asia Minor.

At this time we had as our guest in Alishar an American physician, Dr. Darwin Lyon. Now that I was again able to move, it seemed best to hasten back to camp and request Dr. Lyon to come to Sivas to examine Hüssein. I left for Kayseri on August 22. Having arrived there without mishap, I decided to take a short cut through the Kara Su valley to Jilbakh. I was a most inexperienced chauffeur; but, with the exception of using a team of oxen to haul me out of a ditch, my journey was an independent one.

On my arrival at Alishar in the evening, Dr. Lyon kindly consented to look after Hüssein. He also advised me to return to America as quickly as possible for proper medical attention. So my current plans for exploring the Black Sea coast had to be abandoned.

I remained at Alishar two more days to look over the survey material collected by Mr. Blackburn. The work at the mound, in quest of written documents, had steadily progressed. The first cuneiform tablet had been unearthed just one day after I had left camp. Many fine pottery specimens and glyptic objects also had been found. After spending one day in Ankara to bid goodbye to our friends and to thank His Excellency, Cemal Hüsni Bey, for his assistance and interest in this year's work, I left for İstanbul. There I happened to meet Baron von Oppenheim, the excavator of Tell Halaf. I then learned that I should have visited Tell Halaf, as his work had been in progress while I was in that vicinity. He had merely been absent for two days in Aleppo, because his government commissioner had been shot by the Beduin.

In Paris, while waiting for a sailing, I was again examined by a physician; and it developed that I had one broken rib and a minor injury of the right knee. Many delightful hours were passed there in the company of M. Louis Delaporte, studying the Louvre collection of cylinder seals. I was fascinated also by the extraordinary finds made by Professor Thureau-Dangin at the Arslan Tash. On September 13 the steamer left Boulogne-sur-Mer, and two weeks later I reported to the Director in Chicago.

V

NOTES ON GARSTANG'S *THE HITTITE EMPIRE*

For twenty years Professor Garstang's *Land of the Hittites* and Eduard Meyer's *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* were the only handbooks for archaeologists working in the Hittite field. The archaeological material in particular lies widely scattered in publications and periodicals, some of which are relatively inaccessible. Of late years Dr. Georges Contenau has, through his *Éléments de bibliographie hittite* (Paris, 1922, with a supplement in *Babyloniaca*, Vol. X [1927–28]), earned the gratitude of scholars by starting to collect the references. The *Archiv für Orientforschung* in turn tries to give at the end of each number a complete list of the new publications in this realm of research.

Under such circumstances the appearance of Professor Garstang's new book, *The Hittite Empire*, has been eagerly awaited. As published in 1929, it represents a complete rewriting of his *Land of the Hittites*. In view of its standard character, it may be permissible to offer promptly here whatever comments my own experiences provide.

The explorations which I have been privileged to make during the years 1926–29 as field director of the Anatolian Expedition of the Oriental Institute have made additions to our stock of both facts and problems concerning the earlier civilizations of Anatolia. While the field covered by Professor Garstang is so vast and involves so many special studies in different branches of science that I would not venture to review his work as a whole, I wish to present here notes on certain archaeological matters. The historical and especially the philological material must be left to more competent scholars for discussion. Only sites or regions which I myself have visited or personally investigated are here dealt with. My comments follow Professor Garstang's paging.

It is to be regretted that in this new volume we lack the learned author's opinions on the bronzes and glyptic art. The present writer's reactions on these subjects, based on important finds made at the Alishar *hüyük*, will appear in a forthcoming volume. It may be added

that our Expedition has been fortunate enough to discover during its excavations at that site more than one hundred bodies, representing various historical periods.

CHAPTER I. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

As Professor Garstang states in his Preface, Hittite history alone could now easily fill a large volume all by itself. If the pros and cons of the many unsettled points were to be taken up—and most of Hittite history as we know it today consists of unsettled points—several more volumes would be needed, and the result would still be far from satisfactory. So Professor Garstang is to be complimented on having confined himself to relatively few pages while still giving ample historical information for a general survey of the Hittite question.

Page 1, note 3. Generally speaking, I think that geographical or topographical identifications based solely on philological grounds should be regarded as tentative until corroborated definitely by archaeological finds, since such identifications have proved more than once to be very misleading. Personally, I should hesitate either to accept or to reject any such identifications until systematic surveys have progressed further.

Page 2, note 2. Pottery fragments which I studied in the archaeological seminar in Berlin prove that there was without doubt a settlement at Boghaz Köi before the Hittite conquest.

Page 14, note 4. As far as I know, the following Phrygian monuments come from or still remain within the bend of the Küzül Irmak:

Hüyük near Alaja: Two inscriptions on stone blocks taken to İstanbul (E. Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce* [Paris, 1898], pp. 11–12). An inscription on the back of one of the stone slabs with "Hittite" reliefs (cf. *OIC*, No. 6, Fig. 39). An inscription on the side of the huge stone lion in the garden before the sphinx gate (*OIP*, Vol. V, Plate VII). A cast of this last is in the museum at İstanbul.

Kara Hissar north of Hüyük: An inscription on the Phrygian rock-cut altar on the top of the mountain (*OIP*, Vol. V, Plate VIII and Figs. 166–70; *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XXXIII [1901], *Verhandlungen*, 476).

The Alishar *hüyük:* A few cups and pottery fragments found above the late Hittite layer closely resemble pottery from Gordium.

In paste and decoration (e.g., *OIP*, Vol. VI, Plate I, bottom) they differ markedly from the Hittite pottery.

Pages 17–18. Dr. Emil Forrer, who visited the large city on the Kerkenes Dagh in 1926 shortly after I did (see *Geographical Review*, XVIII [1928], 83–92), is inclined to see in this city the Cimmerian capital (*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* [hereafter abbreviated to *MDOG*], No. 65 [1927], pp. 38–39). A short test excavation there by Dr. E. F. Schmidt in 1928 failed to show definitely who had built the great wall, though it is probably post-Hittite (*AJSL*, XLV [1929], 221–74). There is still a possibility that it is one of the Galatian *oppida*, although it seems to me improbable.[1] It is the largest pre-Hellenistic site in Asia Minor so far known. I have seen three smaller sites of the same type, one at Asap Bashli (*OIC*, No. 6, p. 30), one on top of the Sumerin Sivrissi (*ibid.*, Fig. 14), and one near Kongurlu (*ibid.*, Fig. 42). Pottery typical of the Kerkenes Dagh city was found in what seemed to be small forts or outposts in the surrounding region.

Page 22. A few Aramaic inscriptions of the Hellenistic period have been found in Asia Minor. When visiting the rock-cut inscription at Aghaya Kaleh in 1928, I found a cliff tomb in the Achaemenian style and the remains of a huge fortification (*AJSL*, XLV [1929], 275–78).

Page 25. The Seljuk remains of Anatolia, especially the *hans*, *jamis*, *medresehs*, and *türbehs*, have been systematically investigated during the last five years by Professor R. M. Riefstahl, of New York. A volume dealing with them is now in preparation. Meantime, his preliminary account of "Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia" is appearing in *Art Studies* for 1930.

CHAPTER II. THE HITTITE WORLD

A short but effective geographical description of the country surrounding the focal point of the great Hittite Empire, and especially of the confused topography of Armenia, is given. Although we have no specific proofs, the importance of Armenia in the historical and cultural development of the great Hittite Empire has been rightly stressed. There is a good survey of Hittite contacts with the surrounding cultures, though perhaps the significance of the iron found

[1] For another suggestion, see my note concerning Garstang's page 78.

in the hinterland of Trabzon, the silver found in the Central Anatolian plateau and near Şebinkarahisar, and the copper found at Ergani Maden as stimuli to early trade relations has not been sufficiently emphasized (cf. *OIC*, No. 6, pp. 1 and 130 and Fig. 151). The probability that the Egyptian pharaohs at one time secured their iron and silver from the Anatolian Hittite Empire could have received more stress. See Luckenbill in *AJSL*, XXXVII (1921), 205–6. The precarious question of the "Greeks in the Boghaz Köi texts" has been handled very discreetly and cautiously.

Page 33. As yet, I know of only two objects from the region of Armenia and the Caucasus that may indicate a cultural relationship between this region and the Hittites. One is a vessel in the Louvre, said to have been found in the Caucasus. Dr. Talbot Rice, of Oxford, told me about another, now on the art market in Paris, said to have been fished up from Lake Van.

FIG. 163.—Design on a gold object from Troy. After W. Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion* (Athens, 1902), Fig. 307.

Page 34. The oldest "Hittite" seal stones from North Syria and seals from Susa show a similar technique, though the North Syrian ones are gable-shaped, whereas those from Susa show various animal and geometrical forms. A design found on Susian ware (France, Délégation en Perse, *Mémoires*, Vol. XIII [1912], Plate XXI, 4) occurs also on various seals from the earliest strata at Alishar and on one gold object from Troy (Fig. 163).

Page 35, note 4. In 1929 the excavations at the Alishar *hüyük* yielded two fragments of cuneiform tablets similar to those from Kül Tepe ("Kara-Eyuk"). The thick stratum in which they were unearthed proves that the Alishar mound also covers the remains of an important settlement of that same culture period. I have found pottery fragments of this period on several rather large *hüyüks* in the southern half of the Küzül Irmak basin. In 1929 near Gemerek I saw a large site where I collected exclusively pottery of that type. Professor Julius Lewy had already suggested to me the probability of such a foreign colony near Gemerek (cf. *supra*, p. 139).

Page 41, note 1. During the 1929 excavations the Alishar *hüyük* yielded a chalice similar to those from Mycenae. The stratum in which

it was found, that immediately preceding the Hittite empires, represents a foreign merchant colony.

Page 42. It is possible that archaeological evidences of trade between southern Asia Minor and other lands around the Mediterranean may be secured through excavations at the *hüyüks* in the Adana plain, since in 1929 I found there pottery fragments similar to Cypriote wares.

Asia Minor has up to now yielded the following pieces of Egyptian origin or ancestry:

Adana: Middle Kingdom statuette now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York. See Winlock in its *Bulletin*, XVI (1921), 208–10.

Kirik Kaleh near Yakhshi Han: Middle Kingdom statuette now in Ankara. See von der Osten and Allen in *AJSL*, XLIII (1927), 293–96, revised in *OIP*, V, 64–67.

Boghaz Köi: Dr. H. Frankfort told me in Berlin in 1929 that he is convinced that two vases found at Boghaz Köi are original Tell el-Amarna wares which had served as models for other vases unearthed at Boghaz Köi. Cf. his *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, II (London, 1927), 155.

Sis: Bronze Nefertem with unusual headdress, probably locally made, bought from an Armenian shepherd "who had found it in the vicinity of Sis" (Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce* [Paris, 1898], p. 196). Two scarabs bought at Sis (*ibid.*, pp. 162–63 and Figs. 156–57). Recumbent lapis lazuli bull pierced for suspension, not very Egyptian in appearance, bought at Sis (*ibid.*, p. 196).

Two green glazed scarabs seen, as Professor A. T. Olmstead kindly informs me, by the Cornell expedition in the hands of a dealer at Ankara.

Bead spacer of green fayence with a design on its flat side, published in H. Grothe, *Meine Vorderasienexpedition 1906 und 1907*, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1911), Plate XX, 12. Find-spot not given.[1]

The Alishar *hüyük*, season of 1928: Three small Horus-eyes of paste,

[1] The Frankfort, Chantre, and Grothe references are mentioned by Stefan Przeworski, *Studja nad osadnictwem i rolą Hetytów w środkowej Anatolji* (Państwowe muzeum archeologiczne, *Wiadomości archeologiczne*, Nadbitka z tomu XI), n. 107.

one of which is so very crudely fashioned that Professor G. Roeder, of Hildesheim, thinks it possibly a local product.

The Alishar *hüyük*, season of 1929: One scarab.

CHAPTER III. LANDMARKS OF ASIA MINOR

The description of the topography of the Anatolian plateau with special regard to its influence on the history of the region is very significant. I wish to add here a brief outline of what I have observed in this territory so far concerning the distribution and limitation of ancient settlements, together with a sketch map which is mostly self-explanatory (Map IX). Each small group of ancient settlements distinguished on the map may easily have been a separate principality. The larger areas indicated by the main boundary lines show, even by a hasty survey without *sondages*, marked cultural differences.

Within the shaded area are several castles provided with large tunnels, which I think were for military purposes (*OIP*, V, 132).[1] I am inclined to believe that there was an important frontier or a consecutive line of fortifications extending along an important ancient road in a general line from Çorum via Amasya to Şebinkarahisar. Several similar castles are known in Phrygia, Paphlagonia, and Armenia. In 1928 and 1929 I saw three more, all outside the shaded area: one near Sivas, called Hafik Kalessi (*OIC*, No. 6, pp. 62–64), one near Haji Shefatli (cf. Forrer in *MDOG*, No. 65 [1927], p. 37), and one near Ojakli. The period during which these castles with posterns were built is still doubtful; but I am inclined to believe them of very early origin, even though most of them now show principally postclassical fortification remains. Dr. Alexis A. Zakharov, of Moscow, writes me that there is a "Hittite" relief near the entrance to a castle tunnel at Bayezit explored by Dr. Ivanovsky ("On Transcaucasia: Material on the Archaeology of the Caucasus," published [in Russian] by the Moscow Archaeological Society, No. 6, pp. 75–76). A second fortified frontier, along which I observed twelve castles of clearly pre-Hellenistic origin forming a nearly unbroken line, seems to have extended from Hawus Köi to Divrighi (cf. *OIC*, No. 6, pp. 9, 73, and 126–27). The

[1] This explanation seems to be preferred by G. de Jerphanion also; see his chapter on "Les tunnels à escaliers de la région pontique," pp. 24–40 in his *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne*, "Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth (Liban)," Tome XIII (1928).

ANCIENT SITES INVESTIGATED BY THE ANATOLIAN EXPEDITION, 1926–29

The *vilayet* cities are in large type; less important places are in smaller type.

Solid dots represent the ancient sites investigated. Within the Alishar square and near Gaziayntap such sites are so numerous that only the total number in each group could be indicated.

Probable ancient boundaries of cultural units are shown by —.—.—. .

Possible ancient boundaries of minor political units are shown by - - - - - - -.

Present political boundary is shown by ———————.

indicated boundaries of both the larger and the smaller units are, of course, subject to correction of details; but, as I have stated, these notes incorporate solely what I myself have seen or investigated.

For the whole chapter, compare *OIC*, No. 2, pp. 1–13, where the importance of the geographical and topographical situation for the history of Asia Minor, especially during the various Hittite empires, has been emphasized.

Page 48. I investigated in 1928 the territory around Sivas (*OIC*, No. 6, pp. 55–63). In Sivas itself is a large *hüyük* on which stands the citadel. West of it lie the remains of an ancient settlement (Hosh Kadem Mevskii). The natives showed me a fine bronze ax and a fibula found there. North of Sivas is the famous Yildiz Dagh, a pre-Hellenistic place of worship ("Studia Pontica," II [Bruxelles, 1906], 228–36). Around Sivas I saw only three small *hüyüks*. In the valley leading up from Sivas to the cliff tombs of Tauraz I found a large ancient site. Near by was a cemetery now partly destroyed by excavations for a water mill. Potsherds found there were mostly Roman or Byzantine. In a valley south of Sivas I found a castle with a tunnel (Hafik Kalessi) and saw one *hüyük*. In the museum at Sivas I saw the torso of a statue, quite possibly of Hittite origin, said to have been found in one of the boroughs of the city (*OIC*, No. 6, Figs. 62 and 63). Several lions also, of very crude but distinctive workmanship, have been dug up here. The front part of a similar lion was found in 1927 at Ankara.

Page 49. Along the highway from Sivas to Kayseri I noticed several *hüyüks*.

Page 49, notes 1 and 2. I am inclined to believe that, besides the Chok Göz Köprü, the Bir Göz Köprü too was an important ford in Hittite times, since along the two roads diverging from it north and northwestward are situated many *hüyüks*, and vestiges of ancient roads may be found in both directions along the modern roads. It is also possible that an old road led directly to the ford at Bir Göz Köprü from Boghaz Köi via Büyük Nefez Köi and Bulumashlü, across the Malya Chölü, and on through Topakli. The road has been traced from Boghaz Köi to Büyük Nefez Köi (*OIP*, V, p. 103 and Figs. 174–81). Near the Yerköi railway station are a group of ancient settlements and two hot springs in addition to the remains of a Roman bridge which

crossed the Delije Su at this point (*OIP*, V, p. 82 and Fig. 124). From Bulumashlü an embankment, possibly the remains of a road, leads southeastward (*OIP*, V, 85). Near Topakli the so-called road of Sultan Murad IV (cf. *supra*, p. 131) reaches the modern highway from Kirşehir to Kayseri, along which traces of an older road are easily recognizable. Near both of the above-named bridges are extensive cliff dwellings.

A third ford, Chakrak Köprü, east of Chok Göz Köprü, may be mentioned here. The Küzül Irmak valley forms here a small but very fertile plain, in the middle of which stands a crudely carved nude female figure (*OIC*, No. 6, p. 51 and Fig. 53). Where the road leading northward was located, I cannot suggest at the moment. But it may have been connected with an ancient road of which I saw traces in 1929 south of Chandir. From there it probably continued northward to Chikrikche, thence via Kara Maghara (a Seljuk *han* was seen near by in 1927; see *OIC*, No. 6, p. 26) to Zile. The three towns Chandir, Cha'ir Shehir (*OIC*, No. 6, pp. 48–49), and Yoghun Hissar must have been very important in Byzantine times, judging from the remains there. Yoghun Hissar is connected by an old road with Terzili Hammam. In earlier times probably Chalab Verdi was the center (*OIC*, No. 6, pp. 22–24).

Page 50. On the west bank of the Küzül Irmak, just above the modern bridge facing the modern village of Köprü Köi ("Chesme Keupri"), are the remains of a large pre-Hellenistic site. See Forrer in *MDOG*, No. 65 (1927), p. 37.

A few kilometers east of Yakhshi Han are the remains of the classical Eccobriga, now Kirik Kaleh, around a detached cliff on the top of which are the remains of a pre-Hellenistic fortification. Pottery collected on the surface resembled early Hittite ware. In a necropolis within the site of Eccobriga an Egyptian Middle Kingdom statuette was unearthed (cf. *supra*, p. 162).

Pages 51 and 56. I agree fully with Professor Garstang that the frontier extending in general from the Tonus Dagh northwesterly across the Ak Dagh to the lower Küzül Irmak must have been a very definite cultural and political boundary. Sivas and the settlement group around it probably formed during the Hittite Empire a strong outpost as starting-point of the road to Malatya and Armenia.

CHAPTER IV. THE LAND OF THE CITY OF ḪATTI

Having crossed in only a few places the northern and western parts of the region described in this chapter, I can merely say that Professor Garstang's deductions seem in general acceptable, provided his statements as to the growth and organization of the Hittite Empire are regarded as tentative. The situation of Boghaz Köi in the northwestern corner of the region seemingly most densely settled in ancient times suggests clearly a military reason. I believe Professor Garstang has pointed this out correctly. We may, however, have to modify our opinion later, when the territory around Ankara and farther west shall have been better explored. It may then appear that Boghaz Köi really occupied a more central position. During the Hittite Empire there was undoubtedly around Ankara and south of it an important settlement group (cf. *OIP*, V, 138–44). But I am not well enough acquainted with this region to make a more definite statement. At the present time I consider the region southeast of Boghaz Köi to have been in ancient times the most important and most thickly settled district within the Küzül Irmak bend. I know as yet of only one small settlement group in the plain of Merzifon north of Boghaz Köi, besides a few sites along the routes I traversed in 1926–29.

The possibility of settlements along the Kelkit Irmak and in the adjacent valleys has always interested me, but I have not been able yet to explore that region. As far as I have seen it, the absence of *hüyüks* is noteworthy; but I saw and heard of many fortress remains. The valleys there are extremely fertile and offer excellent pasturage. Perhaps until the Roman pacification this region had been wandered over by nomadic tribes. That, at least, would explain the absence of settlement remains. Even on the assumption that its villages and towns were small and mostly built of wood, there ought to be remains of at least one or two more prominent ones. The castles may originally have been established in very early times to defend the important iron and silver mines in the mountains between the Kelkit Irmak and the Black Sea coast. Further researches may change the whole aspect of the question.

The tracing of ancient roads requires very close and painstaking observations on the ground. With the exception of a few places where traces of the old roads were obvious, I have made such researches in a

limited area east of Boghaz Köi only, and so do not yet feel able to make any detailed statements. But in general the routes suggested by Professor Garstang seem acceptable.

Page 66, note 1. I found that most of the ancient settlements are situated south and southeast of Boghaz Köi. The few to the west and southwest are distributed seemingly along an ancient road running toward Köprü Köi. Along the western border of the Malya Chölü and west of Kirşehir appears a large settlement group. With the exception of a few oasis-like spots, the soil west of Sungurlu to the Küzül Irmak is not very fertile. The same situation prevails southwest of Boghaz Köi, where I noticed only a few *hüyüks* along the ancient highway above mentioned.

Pages 70–71. I am inclined to locate the old crossing over the Delije Su at Sekili Köprü in preference to Cherekli. At the former site there is still in use an ancient stone bridge. Near by are the remains of a Seljuk *han* (*OIP*, V, 17).

Pages 72–73. South of Çorum, near Haji Gümüsh Köi, at Amasya and south of it at Gönnenjik, at Turkhal, at Zile, at Tokat and south of it at Horosh Tepessi, are cliff castles with tunnels, all situated in highly important tactical positions where roads cross defiles (cf. *OIP*, V, 123–34, and *supra*, p. 163).

Page 74, note 3. The old breakwater at Kara Samsun (Amisus) is probably of Greek origin. Interesting is the great number of tumuli around Samsun, of a type different from most in central Asia Minor ("Studia Pontica," II, 112–13 and 121–22; *OIP*, V, 29). Especially prominent are two very large ones at Karamut, built one at each end of a small detached ridge. Pairs of tumuli in the same peculiar relationship form the Koch Tashak and occur also near Hammam in the Malya Chölü and at Chiftlik near Yoghun Hissar.

CHAPTER V. THE CITY OF ḪATTI

This chapter shows again how greatly further excavations at Boghaz Köi and Yazili Kaya are needed. Not one of the many archaeological problems can be approached with any hope of definite settlement until more material is available.

The first part of the chapter deals with the site of Boghaz Köi proper. All that can possibly be said so far is expressed here by Profes-

sor Garstang. I regret only that he did not discuss two interesting articles by Valentin K. Müller, "Die monumentale Architektur der Chatti von Boghaz-köi," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, XXXXII (1917), 99–170, and "Die Datierung von Jazyly Kaya," *Archäologischer Anzeiger, Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Vol. XXXI (1916), cols. 126–37. Nor is the so-called "sphinx gate" mentioned.

Winckler's excavations produced pottery fragments, now in the archaeological seminar of the University of Berlin, which leave no doubt in my mind that Boghaz Köi also had a foreign settlement of the end of the third millennium B.C.

Page 78, note 1. It may be advisable to recall here, in connection with the location of Pteria, that the city on the Kerkenes Dagh is two and one-half times larger than Boghaz Köi. In 1907 Th. Macridy Bey advanced a theory that Pteria should be identified with Akalan (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* [hereafter abbreviated to *MVAG*], XII [1907], 174–75). Satisfactory proof of the identity of Pteria with Boghaz Köi has never been given. Further research at the Kerkenes Dagh city may yet identify this site with Pteria.

Page 86. Miss Isabel F. Dodd, who visited Boghaz Köi shortly after the warrior figure was discovered, has expressed her belief that the figure is female (*Records of the Past*, VIII [1909], 247–48). I saw and examined the figure—now sawed off from the monolith and ready for transportation—several times. To me it seems to represent a male warrior or god. Two details of the costume differ from what is usually encountered on Hittite sculptures: (1) the helmet is similar to those worn by a group of warriors on wall slabs from Jerablus (*Carchemish*, I, Plates B. 2–3); (2) the belt, which seems to consist of a broad metal band with rounded corners, is similar to a belt found in Southern Russia. The Hittite sculptures usually show a broad, tight belt without clasp, but with tassels hanging down from underneath in the front. I am inclined to assume that the ancient costumes were of the same kind as some worn to this day by natives in Eastern Anatolia (cf. our Fig. 91).

Page 91, note 3. Compare also Stefan Przeworski, "Deux bases de colonnes en bois de Boghaz-Keuï," *Eos*, XXXI (1928), 335–36.

Pages 95 ff. The second part of the chapter is devoted to a description of Yazili Kaya and an attempted interpretation of the sculptures there. A final interpretation is still impossible. Professor Garstang's attempt, however, is very suggestive of what the future may reveal.

Page 104, note 1. In the Giaur Dagh, Düldül Dagh, and around Maraş I too noticed women's cylindrical headdresses (cf. our Fig. 90). Attached veils often reached down to the ankles. Twice I saw women whose veils showed narrow decorated borders.

Page 107, note 2. The explanation that this and similar groups are "cartouches" for royal names seems very acceptable (see Eduard Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, pp. 31–35).

Page 107, note 4. I am sorry that during my repeated visits to Yazili Kaya I neglected to observe this spot more attentively. I could discern no definite forms, though it is obvious that there had been a design.

Page 109. In this part of Yazili Kaya is a fourth relief, a "cartouche," which has seemingly been overlooked by previous visitors (*OIP*, Vol. V, Plate XXI). It shows the same design, but enlarged, as that forming part of the isolated relief in the large courtyard.

In connection with the remarkable relief showing what appears to be a dagger blade with an elaborate handle, I wish to call attention to certain peculiar bronze figurines of unknown origin but somewhat similar in conception (M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* [Oxford, 1922], Plate II). A small lead figurine of the same type was excavated at Alishar in 1929 within the stratum of Period II (foreign merchant colony).

Page 115, note 4. Remains of four more eagles lie scattered around Öküzlü Hissar (Tyana). Even in later times the eagle must have played a very important rôle within the Küzül Irmak bend. I know of several eagle bronzes, representing various periods, said to have come from Cappadocia. From the Roman layer at the Alishar *hüyük* comes a small bronze figurine showing a stag's head on which stands an eagle. The combination of eagle and stag is seen in many bronzes and seal stones.

CHAPTER VI. MONUMENTS OF THE PLATEAU

To this and the following chapters I am, of course, able to add notes about only such places as I have visited.

Page 120, note 1. The inscription found near Karga is published in *OIC*, No. 6, Fig. 160. For the two inscriptions from Chalab Verdi, see *MDOG*, No. 65, p. 36, and *OIC*, No. 6, Figs. 15 and 16.

Page 120. The fact that there are no more cities known in this region with Hittite remains above ground might be explained by assuming that the Hittites, as a conquering minority, did not actually build many cities or larger towns, but simply erected fortresses within older cities and towns and so dominated the indigenous population (cf. *OIP*, VI, 199–213). The only site I yet know of within the Küzül Irmak bend, other than Boghaz Köi, Hüyük near Alaja, and Akalan, where perhaps Hittite remains are above ground is Forrer's "Kuschakly-Hüjük" near Küchük Köhne (*MDOG*, No. 65, p. 33, and *OIC*, No. 6, Figs. 31–32).

Page 121. On the Kara Seki Yazi I observed uninscribed stelae of basalt, one of them *in situ*, of the same shape and type as the one at Bogche ("Bogshe").

Page 123, note 3. Compare our note to Garstang's page 115.

Pages 124–44. No final statement as to the relative chronology and the meaning of the sculptures of Hüyük near Alaja seems possible until further excavations have been made or the results of the former ones published. Already, however, at least three building-periods may be distinguished. The latest of these was Phrygian (cf. our note to Garstang's page 14).

Page 125, note 1. During my visit in 1929 I saw a fragment of a recently excavated relief showing the hind part of a charging lion (*supra*, Figs. 3 and 4).

Page, 133, note 1. Compare also the representation and symbols of Ninkharsag, suggested by a relief which I saw in 1928 near Kaimar on the road from Boghaz Köi to Hüyük (*OIC*, No. 6, Fig. 38). See, too, Contenau, *La déesse nue babylonienne* (Paris, 1914), p. 120.

Page 139, note 2. Some of the sculptures are now at Boghaz Köi, Ankara, and İstanbul, in addition to those remaining at Hüyük itself.

Page 144. South of Hüyük in Altü Yapan, a village built on an ancient mound, the hind part of a lion was found re-used in a house wall (Garstang in *LAAA*, I [1908], 9; *OIP*, Vol. V, Figs. 25–26).

The material for the sculptures of Hüyük came from Kara Hissar,

where I saw a dressed block still lying near the quarry (*OIP*, V, 98–99).

Page 145. In Ankara I saw in 1926 a basalt block with a hieroglyphic inscription on three sides (*OIC*, No. 2, Fig. 14; A. Cameron in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1927, pp. 320–21).

Page 145, note 3. Now in İstanbul.

Page 145, note 4. The relief from Amakzis (*OIP*, Vol. V, Pl. XXIII, *B*) is now at Ankara, while the one from Yalanjak is still in that village. These lions are very different from the usual "Hittite" lions, and I would tentatively call them Phrygian. At Ankara there are several small crouching lions in the Temple of Augustus and Roma and the Arslan Hane, but all are of a late period (Seljuk?). In the Arslan Hane is also the figure of a large seated lion similar to the one at Köprü Köi ("Chesme Keupri"). The two last mentioned also are of decidedly late origin.

Page 147, note 3. The two standing figures in the rock sculptures at Giaur Kalessi appear to be approaching a third, seated one (wearing a conical headdress), which I noticed in 1926 (*OIP*, Vol. V, Plate XXIV). Consultation with Professor A. T. Olmstead has brought out the fact that this third figure was observed by him during his travels of 1907–8 in Asia Minor. It is to be hoped that his notes may be taken into account in future publications of the Oriental Institute.

CHAPTER VII. THE COAST LANDS AND MONUMENTS OF THE WEST

The discussions affecting the west coast of Asia Minor I am not able to follow, as they are based more on philological interpretations than on archaeological evidence. It may be mentioned in this connection, however, that the excavations at the Alishar *hüyük* have produced several pottery fragments closely resembling those of Troy II, as well as other possible evidences of relations between the central plateau and the latter site. But all such traces belong definitely to pre-Hittite times.

Ruins along the Mediterranean between Mersin and Selefke deserve careful examination for remains of the second millennium B.C.

Pages 168–69. I know of two additional ancient trade routes to Trabzon from the central plateau: one via Sivas, Zara, Su Shehri, and

Erzincan or from Su Shehri via Şebinkarahisar and Giresun; the other via Malatya, Arabkir, Kemaliyeh, and Erzincan.

Page 186. In 1929 I visited twenty-six mounds in the Adana plain. I am convinced that, in view of the Cypriote potsherds collected on several sites, excavations here would yield interesting results bearing on commercial relations with other Mediterranean lands. Furthermore, the region around Sis should be especially interesting, since an important ancient trade route leads thence northward to Hajin.

CHAPTER VIII. TAURUS AND ANTI-TAURUS

This chapter deals with the most important sites of Asia Minor next to Boghaz Köi. A geographical description is followed by an attempt to identify Hittite shrines, an effort which I consider to be still premature. One site, unmentioned here, which seems to me to have been a Hittite place of worship is Haji Bektash. The dervish order of the Haji Bektashi is a very mysterious organization, and in its cult are many survivals of older religions. In the village little stone amulets of exactly the same shape as some I picked up at Kül Tepe are still used. Here, or at least in the neighborhood, was Venasa, where in Strabo's time there was worshiped a male deity whose attendants are supposed to have included three thousand hierodules (W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* [London, 1890], p. 292). He was surely the successor of an older Anatolian deity. Beside the village is a large *hüyük* proved by the pottery to have been occupied during Hittite times (cf. *supra*, pp. 132–35).

Page 189. I am convinced that careful ethnographical and anthropological studies in this region especially would yield very important additions to our knowledge of the ancient culture of Asia Minor. During my travels I saw sacred stones, trees on mountains, etc., which may well have been venerated for three or four thousand years; and details of modern garments, customs, forms of vessels, and agricultural implements seem to have had an equally early origin.

Page 192. A shorter connection between Maraş and Malatya probably followed the Ak Su, the Kapu Deressi, the Gök Su, and the Sultan Deressi, thence crossing the plain to Malatya. Vestiges of ancient roads appear frequently. An important point in the ancient road system must have been Ufajikli, southeast of Maraş; from there three

roads radiate, one to Maraş, another to Malatya, and the third to Gaziayntap. I traveled over portions of these roads in 1929.

Page 193, note 1. The most important ancient settlement in the Elbistan valley seems to have been the huge mound of Kara Hüyük, 12 kilometers west of Elbistan.

The second part of Professor Garstang's chapter enumerates and describes the monuments themselves. My visits to certain sites provide a few additional notes.

Page 197. For the monuments north of the Tokhma Chai, discovered in 1927, compare my comment on Garstang's page 211.

Page 198, note 2. Compare *AJSL*, XLV (1929), 83–89, and *OIC*, No. 6, pp. 85–98. Since Garstang's Figure 17 shows that blocks Nos. 8 and 9 in my *AJSL* list belong together, the note accompanying them should be changed accordingly.

Page 211, note 1. Near Hawus Köi ("Hauz") there is, in fact, a large lion, besides the remains of several ancient settlements (*OIC*, No. 6, pp. 69–73). But Hawus Köi is 90 kilometers northwest of Derende.

Page 213. Within the Elbistan valley I investigated several *hüyüks* which had pottery comparable to that of Alishar Periods III–IV. Along the southern border of the mountains dividing the Elbistan plain from the Tokhma Chai valley appear several castles. Near the one at Küz Oghlan is a Hellenistic rock relief. On a promontory in the plain of Elbistan stands a prominent monolith, the Dikili Tash (see *supra*, Fig. 116). Its base is set into the bed rock; its top is rounded.

Page 214. The most interesting features in the vicinity of Gürün are some large caves along the Tokhma Chai (*OIC*, No. 6, pp. 74–76 and Figs. 84 and 85). North of Gürün, along the southern edge of the Uzun Yaila, is a group of *hüyüks*.

Page 215. A few kilometers to right and left of the Fraktin relief are two large *hüyüks*, one of them surrounded by extensive ruins among which are caves.

Page 217. In Kayseri, in 1925, Professor J. Lewy discovered a Hittite hieroglyphic stela now in Ankara (*Archiv für Orientforschung*, III [1926], 7–8). Dr. Forrer too has made some very interesting discoveries concerning ancient settlements in the neighborhood of Kayseri.

Page 219. Kara Hüyük ("Kara Eyuk") is sometimes called Kar Ev, and its mound is commonly known as Kül Tepe.

Page 221. Compare my "Four Sculptures from Marash," *Metropolitan Museum Studies,* Vol. II (1929), especially pp. 112–16. In that article, the first paragraph on page 113 should read: "Including the last one mentioned, and excepting five recently discovered (see p. 115), we have so far nineteen sculptures or fragments of sculptures said to have come from Marash." No. 8 on that same page should be: "Fragment of a twice-life-sized hand in Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen, No. 972." On page 114 two pieces should have been added:

18. Fragment of a stela showing a seated figure facing a smaller standing one. H. Grothe, *Meine Vorderasienexpedition 1906 und 1907,* Vol. I (Leipzig, 1911), Plate XIII, Fig. 13.

19. Fragment of a relief showing upper part of a bearded man holding a cup before a small table. J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* (London, 1929), Plate XLII, lower figure.

The hitherto unknown pieces which I saw in 1929 (cf. *supra,* p. 83 and Figs. 83–87) are:

20. Stela showing a standing man with bow and arrow.

21. Fragment of a sphinx in the round.

22. Fragment of a horse's head.

23. Lower part of a stela showing a seated figure faced by a standing one.

24. Stela (broken in two) showing a standing god or king with a winged disk above his head.

With these sculptures should be mentioned two small fragments of a hieroglyphic inscription on different faces of a single block. See Messerschmidt in *MVAG,* V (1900), p. 19 and Plate XXIV.

This rich valley contains many mounds. Which is the most important one is uncertain, though I am inclined to think it is the citadel mound of Maraş itself.

CHAPTER IX. THREE TOWNS OF NORTHERN SYRIA

Though in 1929 I visited the three sites described in this chapter, the very conscientious way in which excavations have been conducted

at each of them and the recorded material published leaves nothing to be added until excavations have been resumed.

Pages 237–62: Sinjerli. During my visit to this site I was shown a small mound, Panjarli Hüyük, 1 kilometer southeast of the village, where there were several sculptured blocks lying about on the ground. I could observe only three which chanced to be right side up; there was no opportunity to have the rest turned over. See *supra*, page 62 and Figs. 62 and 63.

Pages 262–78: Sakje-Geuzi. All the excavated sculptures have been reburied by order of the Turkish government. On his page 277 Professor Garstang mentions the pottery. This provides one of the most important and useful criteria for dating strata. Unfortunately, we have heretofore had very little such material coming from systematically conducted excavations. The Alishar *hüyük* has now provided us with a pottery sequence covering all the historical periods of that particular region. The classification given in *OIP*, VI, 220–32, based on our work of 1927, has since been improved and further subdivided. My lecture before the Archaeological Institute of the German Empire, published in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, V (1929), 249–51, summarized our results through 1928. The season of 1929 has occasioned the following additional modifications:

Period III, divided in 1928 into III*a* and III*b*, now becomes Periods III and IV. Period V, called IV in 1928, now covers the still obscure interval between 1200 B.C. and the Roman period. The "feine rötlichbraune Ware mit dunkel-rotem, meistens rautenförmigem Ornament" mentioned in my lecture has now been found in early strata of the new Period III. Two cuneiform tablet fragments discovered in strata of Period II are clearly contemporaneous with the early foreign (Assyrian?) colony of Kül Tepe.

Pages 278–97: Carchemish. Most of the sculptures from Carchemish have now been brought to Ankara, though a few pieces are in Adana and some, especially the larger pieces, are still *in situ*. During the turmoil following the World War before the establishment of the Turkish Republic, many sculptures were destroyed or were broken up to facilitate their sale.

CHAPTER X. SYRIA AND ITS MONUMENTS

I have visited only a small part of the region described in the first part of this chapter.

Page 307. The stela found by Professor Garstang at Haji Bebekli ("Hadji Bekli") has since been carried off toward Maraş, and is now lying in a swampy rice field very difficult to reach (see *supra*, Fig. 88).

Page 313. I was told in 1929 that between Birejik and Jerablus, near the village of Kirgis, had been found a stela showing a bearded man wearing conical headdress and upturned shoes and holding an ax. But it had been broken up, part of it for the construction of a mill, part of it for gravel.

The foregoing notes may be considered not only as supplementing Professor Garstang's book, but also as presenting summaries of certain tentative conclusions reached by myself after co-ordination of my four seasons of exploration. Final statements on these and all other points are, of course, impossible until the completion of our investigations.

VI

ITINERARIES

1929

A

		Kilometers[1]	
June 10.	Alishar—Karayap—Terzili Hammam—Kaya Punar—Chokum Eshme—Chiftlik—Yapalak—Yoghun Hissar—Boghazlayan—Chalab Verdi—Uzunlü—Chandir—Müftiler—Devejiler Punar—Oljuk—Chok Göz Köprü—Kayseri	227	
June 11.	Kayseri—Kül Tepe—Kayseri	34	
June 12.	Kayseri—Talas—Tavlus—Ali Ili—Seresek and back to Kayseri	98	
June 13.	Kayseri—Injesu—Sosa—Everek—Madasli—Fraktin—Khasli Kümedi—Hajili—Everek	154	
June 14.	Everek—Geleine—Everek—Sosa—Develi Kara Hissar—Kush Kaleh—Niğde—Öküzlü Hissar—Bor—Ulu Küshla	238	12
June 15.	Ulu Küshla—Kara Hüyük—Ulu Küshla—Bozanti—Cilician Gates—Chamerhane—Tarsus—Yenije—Adana	242	
June 16.	Adana		
June 17.	Adana—Yenije—Tarsus—Mersin—Pompeiopolis—Mersin	75	
June 18.	Mersin—Pompeiopolis—Alata Han—Lamas—Küz Kalessi—Grotto of Corycus and back to Mersin	132	8
June 19.	Mersin—Tarsus—Yenije—Adana—Injirli—Misis—Abdi Oghlu—Shötülü—Kara Oghlu—Adana	148	

[1] The first of the two columns shows kilometers covered by automobile; the second, kilometers covered on foot or horseback.

		Kilometers	
June 20.	Adana—Burunli—Topalar—Koinar—Sis (Khozan)—Eshekji—Tirmil Hüyük—Tulan—Jamus Ali—Chatal Hüyük—Sari Bashli—Yarüm Hüyük—Kastali—Merjemek—Büyük Mangat—Salüar Hüyük—Altükara—Chakal Köi—Misis—Chokche—Jeyhan—Handili—Osmanyeh—Hassan Beyli—Keller (Fevzi Pasha)	272	
June 21.	Keller—Senjirli—Panjarli Hüyük—Chakmakli—Keferdiz (Sakche Gözü)—Sonrus Hüyük—Jabba Hüyük—Shark Kaya—Arablar—Gaziayntap	143	
June 22.	Gaziayntap—Gürenis—Aril—Battal—Türlü—Nizib—Belkis—Nizib	70	6
June 23.	Nizib—Tilmen—Birejik—Kefre—Mezre—Kertil—Alif Oghlu—Kirgis—Kelekli Oghlu—Jerablus—Chakir Oghlu—Silsileh—Mamuriyeh—Chiftlik—Saidi Manli—Kaba Aghach—Chibib—Kersen Tash—Akche Koyunlu—Kayajik—Sasgun—Til Bashar—Arkit—Tusel Köi—Daghne—Güneise—Til Bahram—Iki Kuyu—Gaziayntap	155	14
June 24.	Gaziayntap—Yade—Kara Buyikli—Turkhum—Sivrije Hüyük—Maraş	88	
June 25.	Maraş—El Oghlu—Maraş—Kirk Göz Chesme—Maraş	80	15
June 26.	Maraş—El Oghlu—Choban Tepe—Haji Bebekli and back to Maraş	75	18
June 27.	Maraş—Jamusli Hüyük—Haji Bebekli—Maras—Kirni—Delik Burun—Pazarjik	96	22
June 28.	Pazarjik—Injirli—Ufajikli and back to Maraş	51	32
June 29.	Maraş—Pazarjik—Chat Deïrmen—Göl Bashi—Mehmet Aghali—10th *kisim*	156	
June 30.	10th *kisim*—Harabe Shehir—Viran Shehir—Chiklik—Malatya	86	
July 1.	Malatya—Fethiyeh—Hekim Han—Hassan Chelebi—Alaja Han—Kangal—Manjolik—		

		Kilometers	
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July 3.	Derende—Ashada—Arslan Tash—Yokari Yapalak—Ashagha Yapalak—Merhaba—Elbistan—Bash Punar—Kara Elbistan—Elbistan	95	
July 4.	Elbistan—Ashagha Yapalak—Dikili Tash—Yokari Yapalak—Yapalak Hüyük	45	
July 5.	Yapalak Hüyük—Elbistan		32
July 6.	Elbistan		
July 7.	Elbistan—Yapalak Hüyük—Elbistan		64
July 8.	Elbistan		
July 9.	Elbistan—Kaleh Köi—Ighde—Elbistan		34
July 10.	Elbistan—Kara Elbistan—Izgin and back to Elbistan		22
July 11.	Elbistan. Excursion on the Shehir Dagh		5
July 12.	Elbistan		
July 13.	Elbistan—Hassan Köi—Güverjinlik—Kara Hüyük—Alemdar—Kaplan Hüyük—Cholu Han—Javali Hüyük—Kara Hüyük		66
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		Kilometers	
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SUMMARY

A.	3,408 km	535 km.
B.	1,731 km	16 km.
	5,139 km	551 km.

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INDEX AND GLOSSARY

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besh, five
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bey, a title of honor
bin, thousand
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chelebi, lord
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chesme, spring (of water)
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dagh, mountain
daghlar, mountains
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değirmenji, miller
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deniz, sea
dere, valley, stream
dere bey, feudal lord
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eshkia, bandits
eski, old
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hammam (Arabic), (hot) bath
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hekim (Arabic), learned man, philosopher, physician
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ijma (Arabic), general agreement, unanimity
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ili, lukewarm
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imam (Arabic), leader, priest
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inje, thin
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juma (Arabic), assembly, Friday

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ḳaḍi (Arabic), judge
kafa, head, skull

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kaik, boat
kaimakam, administrator of a county
Kaimar, 19, 171
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kaleh, castle
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Kangal, 78, 94, 98, 142, 154–56, 179, 181, Map I
kanli, bloody
Kanli Dagh, 95
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kapu, gateway
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kar, snow
kara, black
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karaja, blackish
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karakol, police or gendarmery headquarters
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kaza, county, county seat
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Kemal Pasha, *see* Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha
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Kerason, *see* Giresun
Kerkenes Dagh, 17, 160, 169, Map I
kerpich, mud brick
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khas, goose
Khasli Kümedi, 178, Map III
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kirk, forty
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kisim (Arabic), portion, section (on the railroad)
kismet (Arabic), share, fate
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koch, male sheep
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Köftül Hüyük, Map VI
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Köhne, 20, Map I
köi, village
Köilüjü Viran, Map VII
köprü, bridge
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kör, blind
Körijek, 180
kötü, bad
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konak, mansion, residence; day's journey
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koyun, sheep
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kül, ashes
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küz, maiden
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küzlar, maidens
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mabet (Arabic *maʿbad*), temple
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maden, ore, silver
maghara (Arabic), cave
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majnūn (Arabic), madly in love
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marif müdürü, director of public instruction
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medreseh (Arabic), mosque with school attached
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mekteb (Arabic), school
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mersin, myrtle
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muhajir (Arabic), refugee, immigrant
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mukhtar (Arabic), one clothed with authority, head (of a village)
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nehr (Arabic), river
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oda, chamber, room
öküz, bull or cow
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ören, ruin
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özü, valley, stream
oghlu, son
ojak, hearth, family, corps

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oppida (Latin), towns
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ova, valley plain

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pasha, a title of honor given to high officials
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pazarjik (<Persian *bazar*), market town
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pehlivan, wrestler
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punar, spring, well
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Pyramus, *see* Jeyhan (river)

rakki, an alcoholic drink
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samsun, bulldog
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sarai, palace
sari, yellow, pale
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shebin (*şebin*), alum
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shehir (*şehir*), city
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sheker, sugar
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sivri, pointed, sharp
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sivri sinek, mosquito
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su, water, river
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tarla, field
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tash, stone
tashli, stony
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teke, (Moslem) monastery
Telin, 180
tell (Arabic), mound
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tepe, (artificial) hill
terzi, tailor
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til (Arabic *tell*), mound
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toprak, earth
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türbeh, (Moslem) tomb shrine
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türlü, a stew of vegetables mixed with a little meat
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ud, lute, lyre
Üzümlü(?), *see* Uzunlü
ufajik, smallish
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ulu, large
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vali, governor
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vilayet, province, provincial capital
viran, deserted, in ruins
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yat mektebe, boarding-school
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yeshil, green
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yilan, snake
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yildiz, star
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yoghun, huge, stout, thick
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yokari, above, upper
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yughurt, fermented, curdled milk
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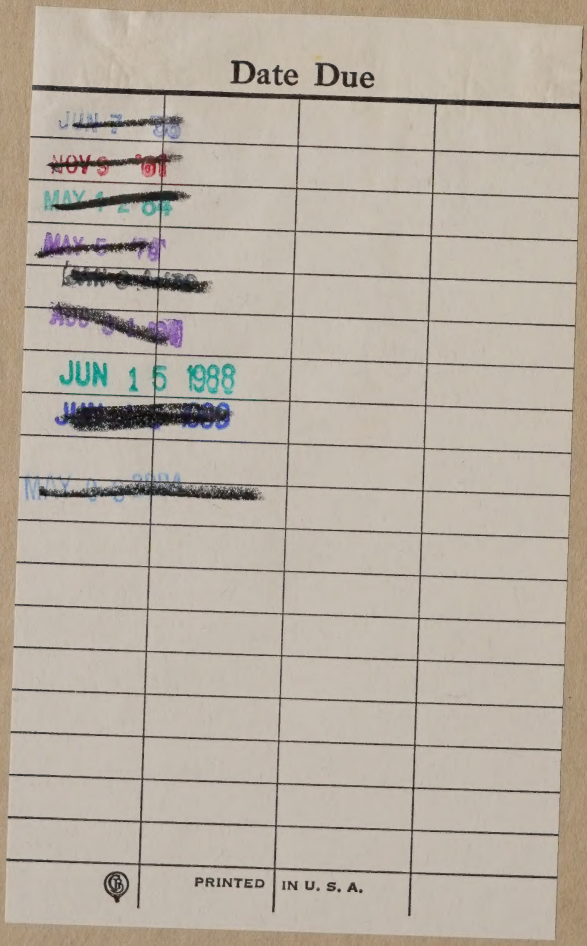
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